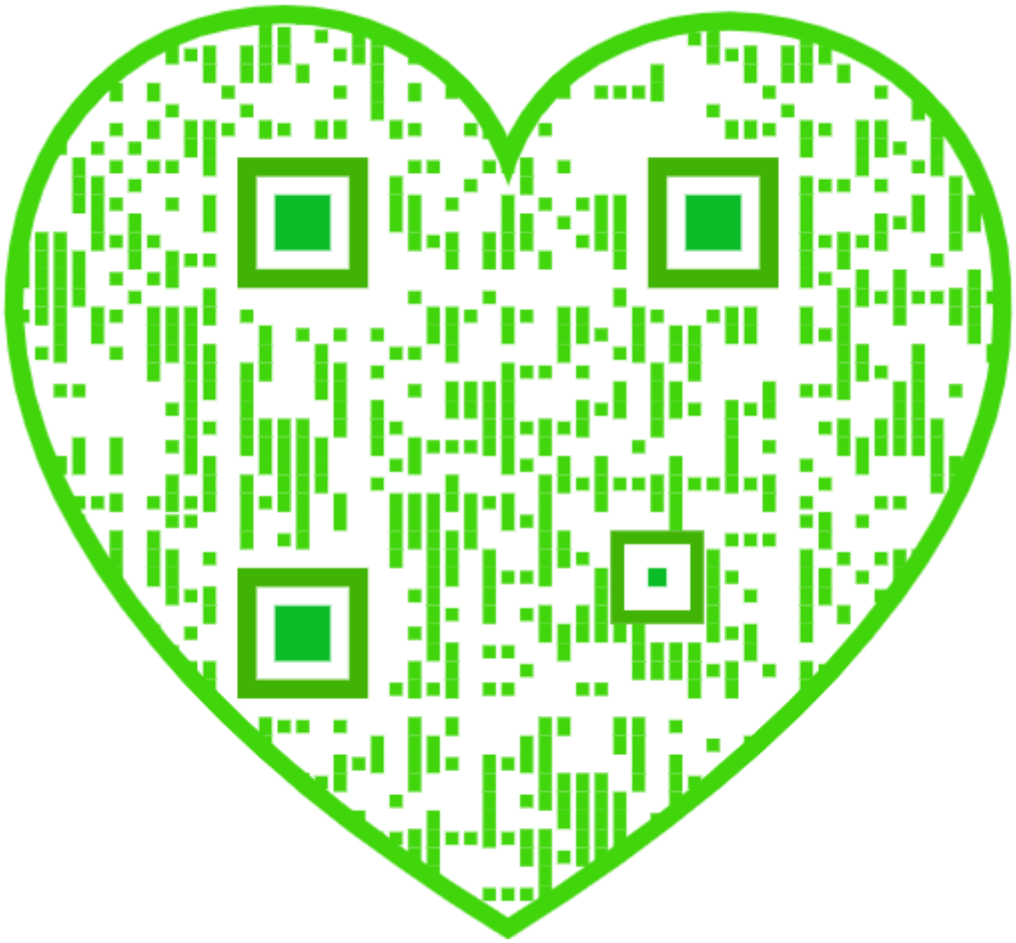
THE

Saddle put on the Right Horſe;

OR, AN

ENQUIRY, &c.

IN no part of the Britiſh empire, have Engliſhmen ſerved with more honour to themſelves, and advantage to their country, than in the Eaſt Indies; and in no part have their actions been ſo much miſrepreſented. *Nabob* is a general term of reproach, indiſcriminately applied to every individual who has ſerved the Eaſt India Company in Aſia; and every body underſtands it as implying, that the perſons to whom it is applied, have obtained their fortunes by grievouſly oppreſſing the natives of India. This, I believe, is the idea which ariſes in the mind of almoſt every man and woman in the kingdom, on their hearing any perſon called a Nabob.



PERHAPS there is no man in England, who has had greater opportunities of obſerving the general conduct of our countrymen in Aſia, than the writer of this pamphlet, both before the Eaſt India Company poſſeſſed lands and revenues in India, and ſince. If thirty years reſidence in various parts of Aſia, and having connection, by ſome means or other, with the principal characters who have figured on that famous ſtage during the above mentioned period, that is, from the year 1750 to the year 1780, can intitle me to a right to intrude myſelf on the public as a narrator of facts, I am ſo intitled. I am not influenced by any man, or body of men, to this undertaking. I conceive myſelf to be a diſintereſted perſon, who, having the means, have alſo the inclination, to remove prejudices from the public mind, which have been, and continue to be, very prejudicial, not only to individuals, but to the nation in general.

BUT too well have we been convinced, that every branch of the legiſlative power of this country, were moſt groſsly impoſed on, with reſpect to the temper, diſpoſition, reſolution, and reſources, of the people of America, prior to the late war in that country: Nor could the hearty union of the Thirteen States, to repel the wilful meaſures of the mother country, open the eyes of government, to the dreadful conſequences of their infatuation. Saratoga hardened our hearts, and French perfidy

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but made us more obſtinate. The publication of Lord Cornwallis's Vindication, convinces us, that our managers muſt have long known, that the hopes of conqueſt was as deſperate, as the idea of pumping the ocean dry, through the rotten ſides of a leaky ſhip. Every victory brought proof that our ruin approached; for more men were loſt in the haſty retreats from our own ſucceſs, to a place of ſafety, than there fell in battle. York Town capture, no more than the Saratoga ſurrender, would have brought home conviction of our errors, had more men been to be had. The ſame lying ſpirit which involved us at firſt, continued the infatuation to the laſt: and Lord George Germaine left the Miniſtry as much convinced, that another campaign, after the defeat of De Graſſe, would have produced the ſubjection of America, as Lord George Gordon is now convinced, that to perſecute our loyal and faithful fellow ſubjects, the Roman Catholics, with fire and ſword, would be doing the work of heaven.

In tranſactions ſo various, ſo extenſive, and ſo complicated, as the Britiſh affairs have been in the weſtern and in the eaſtern world, ſince the year 1750, it is impoſſible that much truth, and much falſhood, ſhould not have been mixed up together, and obtruded on the public. America complained, and ſhe has convinced us that ſhe complained juſtly, of the officers of government miſrepreſenting

them in Europe. The Eaſt Indies have ſuffered a good deal from the ſame cauſes. I have taken up the pen in the cauſe of truth, and will handle it with the free ſpirit of an Engliſhman. I write to the whole people, and ſhall therefore write plainly. The nation has been abuſed, millions of facts have been miſrepreſented, and the deluſion cauſed thereby, has been productive of much evil. I muſt go deep into detail, in order to come at the root of the national prejudices, with reſpect to the gentlemen who have ſerved in Aſia, by ſhewing how and when, theſe prejudices firſt took their riſe, how they have ſince been propagated and ſupported, and how neceſſary it is for all perſons, who mean to form their opinions on juſt grounds, to examine very cloſely into the foundation of every report, which though at firſt propagated only with a view to injure an individual, or to ſerve a party, comes at laſt to ſpread ſo wide, as to prejudice the public at home, and ſtain the honour of the nation abroad. For who is he that does not give credit to ſome one or more of the current reports, relative to the deſolation and total ruin, of many provinces in the Eaſt Indies, more particularly in Bengal? Falſehoods often repeated, and never contradicted, in time come to be conſidered as real facts, and at laſt are adopted by creditable hiſtorians, and go down to poſterity as parts of true hiſtory. I ſhall take occaſion, in the courſe of this work, to mention ſeveral circumſtances that are now confidently believed,

lieved, which have no kind of foundation in truth. Whether the univerſally received doctrine of political neceſſity, in numberleſs ſituations of national concerns, will be admitted or not, I neither know nor care. Wars, I believe, are ſometimes unavoidable, but they are ſeldom juſt, if they are weighed in that excellent Chriſtan ſcale, of doing to others as we would they ſhould do unto us.

SINCE the diſcovery of the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope to the Eaſt Indies, the Portugueze, the Dutch, the French, and the Engliſh, have, at various periods, held very valuable and extenſive poſſeſſions on the continent of India Proper, or, as it has by ſome been called, the Peninſula of India. The Portugueze were the firſt, and the Engliſh the laſt, of the European powers, who have acquired dominions in that part of the world. It is no part of my plan, to enter deeply into the cauſes which gave riſe to the wars, by the fortune of which we acquired dominions ſo extenſive and valuable as thoſe we now poſſeſs in Bengal, and other parts of Aſia; it is a ſubject which has employed much abler pens. To thoſe who wiſh to read for real information, and a love to truth, Mr. Orme is a moſt excellent guide: but to others who read for amuſement, and admire more the beautiful flights of fancy in an author, than ſolid and genuine information, the Abbé Reynal has produced the moſt beautiful hiſtorical novel that ever was written.

ten. That amazing author wrote to the paſſions of all mankind, and has ſucceeded wonderfully. With the invention of Homer, the beauties of Virgil, the genius of Shakeſpeare, the induſtry of Boyle, and the philanthropy of a Chriſtian Citizen of the World, he has produced an entertaining romance, rather than a faithful hiſtory. He will for ever amuſe, but never convince; for on a ſmall foundation of truth, he piles a heap of moſt beautiful fiction as high as the clouds, to which he in every page lifts, and there for ever leaves his readers; too eccentric to be tied to hiſtorical truth, and too much the child of fancy, not to be carried, at every turn, into the regions of fiction. Every page of his Aſiatic Hiſtory, that relates to facts which fell out after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, is ſo chequered with truth and falſehood, that no dependance ought to be placed in him by an impartial hiſtorian, who means to inſtruct, and not merely to amuſe the world. Mr. Paine, the Secretary to the American Congreſs, hath made the ſame obſervation with reſpect to his pieces of hiſtory, relative to the late troubles in that quarter of the globe; and ſo will every other writer, who ſhall examine his facts, and compare them with his own experience and knowledge, in any part of the world. But the brilliancy of his extraordinary genius, has regiſtered his labours in the temple of fame, and the Abbé's novel will be read, when Orme's faithful hiſtory ſhall be forgotten. What inducement then can I

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have for writing? Poſterity will certainly hear nothing of me nor my pamphlet.—Granted:—But ſome of my contemporaries will; and if I can but ſnatch one ſingle lie from the hiſtorian's page, or from the lips of tradition, it will be worth my labour.

THOUGH the appellation of Nabob is certainly an Aſiatic title, it was as certainly firſt given to Colonel Clive abroad, on account of his moderation, rather than his rapacity, or greedineſs of plunder. At home indeed, it was firſt applied to men, who contracted their habits of accumulation after their return to this country, and not to thoſe who never had been but one voyage to India. Theſe may appear to be very extraordinary aſſertions; but I feel that I ſhall be able to prove them beyond a doubt. My greateſt difficulty will lie in confining myſelf to a few inſtances, and thoſe ſuch as will come home to every man's boſom, and not running this pamphlet into length, by producing too many, and proving too much.

THE firſt taſte of fame and conqueſt, which the Engliſh officers enjoyed in India, happened on the coaſt of Coromandel, where the great Clive, and his able maſter in the art of war, Major-General Lawrence, made the Engliſh name terrible. This was ſoon after followed by the conqueſt of all the forts and harbours of the pirate Angria, on the Malabar

Malabar coaſt. Yet we made conqueſts rather as auxiliaries, than as principalsin the wars: for the Nabob of Arcot enjoyed the advantages of the firſt, and the Poonah Mahrattas of the laſt. Some prize money was made, but no territory held, which produced any thing further than ſome advantages in trade; and a few diſtricts pawned or pledged to us for certain ſums advanced, the revenue of which was to reimburſe the Company for the expences of the war. Perhaps it would have been as well, if we could have tied ourſelves down always to have acted in the ſame manner, and never loſt ſight of our firſt profeſſion of merchants. But armies once raiſed, muſt be paid; and the ſword once drawn, no man hath hitherto been able to foretel, when, or how, it ſhould again become ſheathed, in any period of time, or in any part of the world. We won a rich and extenſive continent in the eaſt, as it were by ſurpriſe, between the years 1756 and 1763; and we loſt another in the weſt, by means as ſudden and unexpected, between the years 1776 and 1783. Such ſudden ſtarts into power, grandeur, wealth, and dominion, and as ſudden returns into poverty and humiliation, ought to humble our pride, and deſtroy our arrogance. They certainly are prodigies permitted by heaven, to convince mankind, that their buſineſs on earth, is peace, love, and good will, towards each other, and not war and deſolation. We are but monkeys without tails, and take a deal of ſcourging before we learn our duty;

duty; and even then, a little Flow of what we call good fortune, turns our heads as much as an apple does that of our grinning prototype, and we forget all again.

THAT we were not the aggreſſors in the diſpute at Bengal with Surajah ul Dowlah, is generally allowed. A few indiſcreet acts in the Engliſh Governor, could not juſtify the extirpation of every Engliſhman in the kingdom. The Company held factories in Bengal, by permiſſion of the Emperor of Hindooſtan; and under the protection of the Company, the inhabitants of Calcutta ſuppoſed themſelves in ſafety, in every part of the provinces belonging to the Subah, or Nabob, of Bengal. But he was a raſh, ill adviſed, headſtrong, and rapacious young man, deaf to the voice of reaſon and of juſtice; and only did not deſtroy every Engliſhman in Bengal, becauſe ſome eſcaped his vengeance, and got down the river in ſhips and boats, (where many of them died, and the others ſuffered much in body and mind, for the ſpace of five months,) until relief was ſent them from Madraſs. Colonel Clive commanded the land forces, and Admiral Watſon, and the preſent Sir George Pocock, the ſquadron of King's ſhips then in India, which accompanied the Madraſs troops to the relief of their diſtreſſed and much wronged friends at Bengal.

It is the province of the hiſtorian to enter into a detail of all circumſtances relative to the war which enſued; and many very good accounts there are in print, of our ſucceſſes in Bengal, and other parts of India. My buſineſs is to ſhew, that the appellation of *Nabob*, ſo indiſcriminately beſtowed on all the gentlemen who have ſerved in India, *properly belongs but to one.*

If ever there was a truly juſt war of offence, that waged under the command of Colonel Clive, againſt the Subah of Bengal, was ſuch. There was no alternative. He would have deſtroyed us, if we had not dethroned him. Our right of continuance, as merchants, in the country, was in every legal point of view, ſuperior to his right to govern it. Ours was derived from a grant often renewed by Emperors, long acknowledged as the undiſputed Sovereigns of all Hindooſtan; his was from a very recent uſurpation. He was as improper a ſucceſſor to Allaverdy Cawn, as Richard Cromwell was to Oliver. We could not continue under his government in ſafety, as merchants; and neceſſity, that political ſalve for all ſelf-intereſted ſores, made it neceſſary that we ſhould remove him from the throne, or he would have removed us from the country. The bloody, ſelf-willed tyrant, plundered the unarmed merchants; but the armed merchants, in their turn, defeated the worthleſs deſpot. Had the Nabob conquered Col. Clive and his army on the plains of Plaſſey, not an Engliſh-

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man would have been left in Bengal. But Clive defeated the Nabob, and might, if he had thought proper, by the right of arms, and law of nations, have entered his capital city ſword in hand, and have plundered and laid all waſte, as the Nabob had done at Calcutta the preceding year. Revenge for paſt injuries, deſire of plunder, the law of retaliation, and fifty other ſcurvy paſſions, offered themſelves on the inſtant of victory, whilſt the blood of the conquerors ran warm in their veins to impel them on; but that great Chriſtian virtue, moderation, interpoſed, and all was ſaved. There was in the cities of Moorſhadabad and Coſſambuzar, at that moment, more wealth than was ſufficient to have made every gentleman in Bengal, richer than moſt of the Nabobs that I know now in England. There was not a Moor or Hindoo family in the city, but trembled for the conſequences. Rapes, maſſacres, fire, plunder, and deſolation, was what they expected. War with Europeans and Chriſtians, they had never before experienced. Their Prince had been totally routed, nor had they an idea, but that the ruin of all his ſubjects muſt be the inevitable conſequence. What then muſt have been their ſurpriſe, when they were aſſured that the Engliſh were their friends, and when they ſaw that not a houſe was plundered or burned, that not a woman was raviſhed, nor man, woman, or child, murdered, or ſuffered any kind of injury from Europeans, at ſo great and extraordinary a revolution! In a very few

few days the tumult ſubſided, the ſhops were opened, confidence was reſtored, and buſineſs of all kinds went on as quietly, as if no revolution had happened. This to the Aſiatics, appeared aſtoniſhing; and thoſe of them who ſurvive, mention ſuch moderation and forbearance in the conquerors, with wonder to this day. I have heard it aſſerted by many of the natives, who had good opportunities of knowing the fact, that there was at the time Colonel Clive and his party entered the city, from ten to fifteen millions ſterling, in current gold, ſilver, and jewels, in the public treaſury, the bankers ſhops, the houſes of the officers of ſtate, and of private merchants; and I believe it as firmly, as I do that an equal, or much greater, ſum in value, now ſubſiſts in the ſame kind of depoſitories, in the cities of London, Weſtminſter, and Southwark.

WITHOUT entering into an inveſtigation, whether, by the law of arms, the Engliſh army had a right to all this wealth, as the army of the Nabob thought they had the preceding year, to every thing which could be found in Calcutta, I ſhall only obſerve, that peace was reſtored, and private property of every kind, left untouched by the captors, on condition that a ſum, equal to about four millions ſterling, was paid to the Company, including what was given as a compenſation to the ſuffering merchants in Calcutta, and as prize money, or donation, to the fleet, the army, and to individuals in high ſtation;

ſtation: And I further affirm, that a ſum equal thereto, was found in the different treaſuries of the dethroned Prince, and quietly taken poſſeſſion of by his ſucceſſor. The Engliſh had been inſulted by a tyrant, whoſe predeceſſor had uſurped the government of the Bengal provinces, and refuſed to render account, or pay obedience, to his liege lord, the Great Mogul, or Emperor of all Hindooſtan, a dependant part of whoſe empire, the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, had, for ages before the uſurpation of Allaverdy Cawn, been conſidered, and held by commiſſiom from the Emperor. The reigning uſurper paid no regard to the orders or mandates of the Emperor, and having conceived a diſlike to the Engliſh, uſed the power in his hands to diſlodge them, by force of arms, from their factory, or ſettlement, which he plundered, and inhumanly deſtroyed many hundreds of the innocent inhabitants. The following year (as noted above) the Engliſh were reinforced, attacked the uſurper in their turn, and having defeated him more than once, drove him from the muſnud, or throne, and eſtabliſhed one of the great feudal lords, or *Barons* of Bengal, in his ſtead.

Now comes the great political queſtion, in the diſquiſition of which, a genius ſuch as that of the Abbé Reynal, might diſplay his whole powers of philoſophic reflection, and benevolent concluſion.

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The field is boundleſs; and the matter it would furniſh to ſo elegant and creative an imagination, extremely fertile; yet the queſtion itſelf is ſimple and plain, and contained in one ſingle—*Query*—Would it have been more to the intereſt of the Engliſh nation, when they had eſtabliſhed Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn in the Subahſhip of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and received from him full reſtitution for their loſſes, and handſome gratuities to their fleet and army, for the trouble they had in revenging their own quarrel, to have re-eſtabliſhed their factories preciſely in the ſame ſituation in which they had ſtood before the war, leaving the ſame number of troops (for ſhew) and civil ſervants, to conduct the Company's mercantile affairs, and retired with their fleet and army to the coaſt of Coromandel, to meet their natural and national enemy, the French, without dipping further into the political affairs of Bengal? or proceeded on as they have ſince done, to ſubdue the whole country?

An examination into plain matters of fact, will find ſufficient employment for ſuch dull, inanimate ſouls as mine; mere pamphleteer hiſtorians dare not to meddle with ſuch abſtruſe political Gordian knots, when they come in their way. I ſhall, therefore, leave it as I found it, for fear of going out of my depth: though the probable conſequences of the other ſide of the queſtion, are tumbling about in my head, from having viewed the ſcene, and taken

taken an active part on the ſtage myſelf. But as what might have happened from our holding a different conduct to that which we really did hold, muſt for ever remain mere matter of conjectural opinion, I ſhall conſign it untouched to the Abbé, and other metaphyſical geniuſes of that powerful tribe, who raiſe themſelves into fame, by forming theoretical ſyſtems to govern mankind, in which practical experience has little to do, and go on in my own way, to account for what has happened, in conſequence of our having held the Bengal Nabob in leading-ſtrings, and undertaken to dry nurſe Chet Sing, Rajah of Benares, Aſoph ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, Viziar of the Empire, &c. &c.

I MUST, for a moment, revert to firſt principles. Do not be alarmed, gentle reader, for I hate as much as you can, tedious, dull, conjectural narration. Truth lies in a ſmall compaſs, and may be eaſily explained. It is fiction which bewilders and tires, when any where met with out of its own province, poetry. In biography it is intolerable, but in hiſtory it is infamous. Why does the Abbé Reynal ruſh into my mind, when I make ſuch a reflection? The reaſon is, that I have been diſguſted by his erroneous account of Aſia: For with all his beauties of genius and of ſtile, and with all his boaſted philanthropy, he is not an hiſtorian, as he calls himſelf, and has been called by others, but a fabuliſt. One ſingle page in the writings of his countryman, Bernier, relative to India affairs, is worth

worth his whole work: ſo much does plain truth, and common ſenſe, exceed the moſt beautiful and luxuriant creations of fancy.

It has always been the cuſtom of the Eaſt India Company, and it is their cuſtom ſtill, to ſend their ſervants out young, in quality of writers, to their ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, where they ſerve an apprenticeſhip of five years in that ſtation, and afterwards riſe by degrees, and at the end of certain periods, to ſuperior rank. The gradations are thoſe of writer, factor, junior merchant, and ſenior merchant. The ſenior of which laſt order, ſucceeds to the vacancies at the council board, as they happen, and ſo up to the government. At Bengal, this order of ſucceſſion has been broken in upon, the ſtate having taken the nomination of the Governor General and his Council. But the Board of Trade, as it is now called, have the direction in mercantile affairs, and may be ſaid to be ſimilar to the old Preſident and Council, as to what relates to commercial tranſactions. All the other Preſidencies, the ſucceſſion to the high offices of government, are ſtill open to the younger ſervants, ſubject only to the controul of the Company at home.

The young men choſen for writers, were formerly ſelected from the middle orders of the people, ſuch as the ſons of Directors of the Company, their

their military and marine officers, their old ſervants abroad, and of merchants and capital tradeſmen connected with the Company at home; latterly, numbers of writers have been taken from the higher orders of ſociety, and ſome of them the ſons of the nobility. All I wiſh, or mean, to infer, by this account of writers, is, that if there is any morality or virtue, left in the people of this diſſipated nation, it is as likely to be found in ſuch families as are above mentioned, as in any other. It will at leaſt be allowed me, that however depraved and diſſipated the parents may be, hitherto they have taken care to inſtil, by a virtuous and liberal education, the principles of moral and religious duties, into the minds of their children: And as the young men in general, go abroad when they attain to their ſixteenth year, their manners and morals are as uncorrupt as can be well expected, when they take (as happens but too often) their eternal leave of their fond parents, to ſeek their fortunes in the Eaſt India Company's ſervice.

To ſuppoſe that, on their arrival at the ſeveral places of deſtination in India, whether Bombay, Madraſs, Bengal, or Bencooleh, they are given up to their own direction entirely, is a miſtake. Generally ſpeaking, if they have no relations of their own on the ſpot, they are very particularly recommended to the notice of other families in the ſettlement, who receive them on their arrival, under

their protection: And as for a decent proviſion, no ſervice in the world, provides ſo handſomely for their dependents. What the Company allows, is ſufficient, with rigid frugal economy, for the mere neceſſaries of life; but thoſe whoſe friends can allow them ſomething more during their writerſhip, may ſpend it, without incurring the charge of extravagance, as it is generally laid out in good apparel; and if in any thing a young man can be juſtified in going to the utmoſt bounds of his income, I ſhould excuſe him more readily in the article of dreſs, than any other. Youth is the bloſſom of life; the uſe of gay apparel at that period, is but copying nature, and ſhe ſeldom errs.

THERE are, no doubt, vices in ſome conſtitutions, which no climate can controul, and a warm one the leaſt of any. On this I ſhall ſay nothing more, than that in all ſocieties, ſome few individuals will run riot. Time, and time only, is able to rein in ſome of our natural paſſions. But as for the accidental ones of wine and gaming, if they are enjoyed any where in moderation, and without groſs abuſe, it is in the Eaſt Indies; for I never knew a young man guilty of either, who did well in the Company's ſervice, for they are by no means countenanced in ſuch exceſſes by men in power.

THE ſtudy of the country languages, and the daily duties of the office to which they are, from their

their firſt arrival, allotted, find employment enough for the moſt active mind; and in Aſia, as in all other parts of the world, the man who beſt attends to the duties of his ſtation and ſituation, ſucceeds beſt in life. But as to diſſipation, and corruption of manners and morals, a merchant's or banker's clerk, of twenty years old, in London, is further gone than the Company's ſervants in Aſia during their whole life.

It has been obſerved, that the Eaſt India gentlemen write and ſpeak more correctly, than any other body of mercantile people in the world: (for merchants they are, and only deſerve the denomination of Nabobs, when they affect to forget that circumſtance, as I ſhall go near to prove.) The reaſon is this; that partly from their inability of expreſſing themſelves correctly to their Indian ſervants, and partly from the want of comprehenſion in thoſe ſervants, they are not able to ſend a ſimple meſſage without writing a note, or, as it is called in India, a *chit*. This of courſe obliges them to write very frequently, and unleſs they do it correctly, they become ſubject to the ridicule of their companions. When they go into the provinces, this correſpondence is extended to the writing of letters on all ſubjects whatever; which, together with the correct and maſterly ſtile of correſpondence, in which the Company's affairs are carried on by their ſuperiors in rank, whoſe wri-

tings they are frequently employed to copy, in the end, gives them the habit of writing correctly. And it may with equal juſtice be obſerved, that the application which the young men in general, give to the ſtudy of the country languages, preſerves to them, and improves the knowledge of, the grammar which they acquired at ſchool.

THE manners of the Hindoos are, perhaps, the moſt inoffenſively mild and engaging, of any people on earth. They never ſpill the blood of the moſt offenſive and noxious inſect deſignedly; nor ever puniſh their children, or dependents, with ſtripes. A young man, in a continual habit of intercourſe with ſuch a people, muſt imbibe ſome of their patient and placid ideas. Univerſal charity, and general hoſpitality, are natives of Aſia, and are practiſed by the Hindoos towards all ſtrangers, as far as their cuſtoms and religious prejudices will admit. Young minds are attracted by example; and it is the general opinion, that if in any part of the world, Engliſhmen are pre-eminently famous for the ſocial and domeſtic virtues, the Company's ſervants in the Eaſt Indies are they. I was acquainted with the inhabitants of every one of the Preſidencies, for ſeveral years before the capture of Calcutta by the Moors; and I affirm, with truth and certainty, that ſuch were the cuſtoms, manners, and habits, of the Engliſh inhabitants of Bombay, Madraſs, and Calcutta in Bengal, when the troubles

bles with the Moors commenced, and in their conſequences, brought about the revolution above mentioned, in 1757, at Bengal.

THE great Lord Clive himſelf, (and ſurely, if ever a private ſubject deſerved the name of great, he was the man,) went out a writer in the Company's ſervice, and indeed, ſo did a great number of the Company's officers originally. Some of them returned again to the civil ſervice, many fell in the field, and ſome ſurvived to return to Europe; but of thoſe laſt there were but few indeed. I have ſhewn that it was in their power to have become, every man of them, as rich as their countrymen have conſtantly ſuppoſed all the Indians to be, and that the law of retaliation, a juſtifiable ſpirit of revenge, ſelf intereſt, and great opportunity, were all on their ſide to help them on; but the generoſity, hoſpitality, humanity, and moderation, for which they were in thoſe days ſo famous, operated ſo ſtrongly, that ſo far were they from exerciſing acts of cruelty and barbarity on individuals, to accumulate wealth, that they neglected to take what, by the law of arms, and the conſtant and univerſal cuſtom of that country, had become their right.

BEFORE I proceed further, it may be neceſſary to ſay ſomething on the *different claſſes of Nabobs.* Lord Clive will be found to be the only *real* and

genuine

genuine Engliſh Nabob, amongſt the whole number.

THE ſecond ſort, or thoſe whom I ſhall call *ſpurious Nabobs*, are ſuch perſons, who having ſerved the Company many years abroad, and returning to Europe with a moderate fortune, either from a negligence ariſing from that generous confidence which they had imbibed in India, took too little care of their money, or perhaps ſharing it with their friends too generouſly, or, as it ſometimes happened, from an impatient, ambitious ſpirit to raiſe themſelves into public notice, obtained their former rank, and returned again to India. It is principally to this ſecond order of Nabobs, that the Eaſt Indians owe that part of the odium, which may be ſaid to have been juſtly laid to their account! But as to the greater part of the ungenerous ſtories, which have induſtriouſly been propagated againſt them, I pledge myſelf to convince the impartial, unprejudiced, and candid reader, that they never had exiſtence.

THE third order is compoſed principally of ſuch gentlemen, who have ſerved in different parts of Aſia, from twenty to thirty years, and being content with a moderate, honeſtly acquired fortune, have returned to their native country, and generally to their native place, whether England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland, to ſpend amongſt their friends

friends the remainder of their days. This order I ſhall denominate *the reputed Nabobs.*

It is a remark, and a very melancholy one it is, becauſe it is true, that not ten in the hundred of the Company's ſervants, who go out writers, marine and military officers, ſurgeons, cadets, tradeſmen, &c. ever return to their native country with a handſome independency; and not twenty in the hundred of the whole, who go abroad to ſettle in India, under every denomination, of free merchant, free mariner, &c. &c. included, ever return at all. Amongſt theſe ſcanty returns, we muſt look not only for our real, ſpurious, and reputed Nabobs, but alſo for another race, which I ſhall call *mere adventurers*, or *muſhroom Nabobs*—A ſet of men, who have cauſed almoſt as much ſcandal, by their indiſcreet conduct after their return, as the ſpurious Nabobs themſelves.

Formerly, when a man in this country was called a Jacobite, it raiſed in the mind of the hearer, the idea that he was a friend to the intereſts of the Stuart family. At preſent, when a gentleman is ſaid to be a Nabob, the hearer conceives that he has ſerved the Eaſt India Company at Bengal. But this is by no means a juſt idea: there are Nabobs of the three laſt ſorts, who have ſerved at Madraſs and Bombay; though the term was originally given to gentlemen who had ſerved in Bengal.

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So much it was neceſſary to premiſe, to prevent miſconceptions. When I ſpeak in general of India gentlemen, the term implies indiſcriminately, all perſons who have ſerved in Aſia. But if the Preſidency is neceſſary to be known, a Nabob of Bombay, Madraſs, or Bengal, will be particularly mentioned; and to diſtinguiſh the claſs, real, ſpurious, reputed, or muſhroom, will be added. With the help of this clue, I hope to make myſelf clearly underſtood.

Had the King's Admirals, and Colonel Clive, after they had eſtabliſhed *Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn*, in the Nabobſhip of Bengal, and re-eſtabliſhed the Company's affairs in that kingdom, been content with ſo doing, and withdrawn the fleet and army from thence, and truſted in future to the gratitude of the Subah, for our Company's mercantile intereſts, in all human probability, the appellation of Nabob, as it is now applied, would never have been known in England. But Colonel Clive, who looked through a Muſſulman, or an Hindoo Grandee, as clearly as through a glaſs, conſidered them as a race of beings who never could be truſted, ſo prudently made a good bargain for the Company, in obtaining the ceſſion of certain diſtricts for them in perpetuity, and a life-right for himſelf, in a grant of a jaghire, or penſion, of about thirty thouſand pounds a year. That this laſt was a voluntary offer to him from the Nabob, I moſt ſe-

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ſiouſly believe; and the Nabob had as good a right to give it, as we had to give him the country. When the great Duke of Marlborough beat the French, and relieved the Houſe of Auſtria from their apprehenſions of total ruin, he was, by the Emperor, made a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and had a *jaghire* ſettled on him, to ſupport his dignity. In ſhort, he was made a Nabob of Germany, as Colonel Clive was of the Empire of Hindooſtan. Now if ſaving an empire, deſerves ſuch a reward as Lord Marlborough received, I ſee no reaſon why receiving the ſame reward, and the title in conſequence, ſhould be conſidered as criminal in Colonel Clive; but ſo it has turned out; for from the time that Mr. Clive accepted of the title of an Omrah, the appellation of Nabob has been added to his name as a term of reproach in England.

The concluſion which I conceive to follow, is this; that had the Colonel, when he entered Coſſambuzar, ſeized to his own uſe, in the treaſury of the late Nabob, jewels and money, to the value of a million and a half ſterling, permitted his officers to have ſhared the remainder, and his ſoldiers to have ranſacked the town, as the Nabob's troops had ranſacked Calcutta the year before, the people of this country would have thought he had done right: But as he acted juſtly and openly in the tranſaction, gave the whole to the new Nabob, and

conſented

conſented to receive a part back, for the Company, himſelf, and his ſea and land brethren, in ſo juſt a war, his envious countrymen have endeavoured to load his name with infamy and reproach, which he never deſerved.

COLONEL Clive's title of Omrah, and the handſome penſion annexed, in order to ſupport it, I neither can, or will conſider, as unmerited, from *Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn.* But the Colonel's private reaſons for accepting of them, aroſe from a very different cauſe, than the people in general are acquainted with. When Mr. or Capt. Clive, returned to England firſt, his views were turned to the raiſing himſelf in the Company's ſervice, both as a civilian and military man. It was impoſſible that he could foreſee, what a full meaſure of fame and honour, lay hid for him in the womb of time. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, had but juſt reſtored the nation at home to a ſtate of tranquillity, and the Company to their town, or factory, of Madraſs, on the coaſt of Coromandel. The Captain had been married, and had an increaſing family. The rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the King's ſervice, and appointment to the Deputy Governorſhip, with the proſpect of one day becoming Governor of Madraſs, bounded the limits of his utmoſt ambition, when he left England in 1754. I am not writing his life, not being equal to the taſk of doing juſtice to ſo great a man; but I could wiſh

ſome

ſome Gibbon would undertake it. After having arrived at Bombay, and jointly, with Admirals Watſon and Pocock, with the King's ſquadron, (attended by the Company's marine force, commanded by the preſent Sir William James,) ſubdued the pirates on the coaſt of Malabar, he was fixed on by the Preſidency of Madraſs, to attend the ſame great and valuable ſea officers, and carry relief to their diſtreſſed countrymen at Bengal, who had been unjuſtly deſtroyed, or driven from their habitations, naked, and almoſt helpleſs, down the river of Bengal, by a cowardly, remorſeleſs tyrant. Clive, like Cæſar, came, ſaw, and overcame, in the manner I have rather hinted, than related. Having ſucceeded to the government of Bengal, in reward for his invaluable ſervices, he was at the *ne plus ultra* of the Eaſt India Company's ſervice. But it was impoſſible for a mind active and ambitious, as that of Colonel Clive, to reſt there. He was conſcious of the great ſervices which he had already rendered his country, and looked forward to national reward. Sorry I am to obſerve, that in my opinion, the firſt mark of the breaking up of the powers of his capacious and comprehenſive mind, was his ſtooping to accept of an Iriſh peerage. Immortal Clive! was there no niche could be found for thee in the Britiſh Houſe of Lords? Is every ſtall in that honourable retreat for laurelled heroes, made over in fee ſimple, to wrangling lawyers and mouthing patriots, who

mean

mean nothing but a proviſion for themſelves and families? Colonel Clive had very recently viſited England, and well knew that a man, who would have, in future, to move in ſo exhalted a ſphere, required a handſome independent fortune, in order to ſupport the character, which he had acquired in *many a well fought field.* Many times had his friend the Nabob, urged him to accept ſome private preſents, which would effectually have anſwered the purpoſe. This mode Clive declined, as unworthy of him. But as he was conſcious of having deſerved every thing that the Nabob could do for him, public honour, and public ſupport, was what he preferred; and thus openly, fairly, and juſtly, accepted of his title and jaghire, and thereby gave occaſion to envy, to turn into ridicule the appellation of Nabob; never legally poſſeſſed, either before or ſince, by any Engliſhman, and which reflects as much honour on his country, as a ſimilar title, acquired in the ſame honourable way, by the famous Duke of Marlborough.*

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*The writer of the Life of the Earl of Chatham, in the ſecond paragraph of his work, ſays, "It is agreed on all hands, that Mr. "Pitt's patrimony was narrow; and Lord Cheſterfield has fixed "it at an annuity of one hundred pounds a year. As his grand-"father was an *Eaſt India Nabob*, and, as it ſhould ſeem, remark-"ably ſucceſsful, his father the eldeſt ſon, and himſelf the "younger of only two, the ſcantineſs of this pittance is not eaſily "to be accounted for."—What is not eaſily to be accounted for? that a rich man's youngeſt grandſon ſhould have but a ſmall pittance to live on? Ridiculous! What is more common? But every

THE ſecond order of Nabobs, whom I call *ſpurious*, and whoſe ridiculous and oſtentatious diſplay of wealth, firſt diſguſted the nation, are thoſe who, by their extravagance of behaviour, have turned the appellation of Nabob, ſo honourable in Lord Clive, into a term of reproach, and even contempt. There are (thank God) not many of this tribe; but if the proverb of one ſcabby ſheep ſpoiling a whole flock, is true, three or four will do it effectually. There are men in all civilized

ry witling muſt have a ſlap at the *Nabobs*; and this ſervile flatterer of the adventurer, Mr. Edmund Burke, ſhews his ignorance, in an attempt at being witty, to gratify his patron's ſpleen.

When the grandfather to the Earl of Chatham was Governor of Madraſs, the appellation of Nabob, as applied to Engliſhman, was not known; nor did the occaſion ſo to apply it, exiſt, until many years afterwards. The Eaſt India Company never have themſelves dealt in diamonds, but always allowed their Governors to do ſo. Mr. Pitt was a great and fair merchant, and by his ſpirit, drew moſt of the Golconda merchants, with their diamonds, to the Engliſh mart of Madraſs; and depending on his own judgement in the value of diamonds, ventured the greateſt part of his fortune, in the purchaſe of the famous one afterwards known by his name. The pitiful ſneer of this time-ſerving writer, is, therefore, ill placed, and recoils on himſelf. Even this man's maſter, the great Orator himſelf, often uſes Aſiatic terms, which he does not underſtand the meaning of, but depends on the ignorance of his hearers or readers, as this biographer has done. If this catchpenny production ſhould paſs to a ſecond edition, I hope he will have the grace to drop the above paragraph; his hiſtory will do full as well without it; as I ſuppoſe it matters very little, whether the great ſtateſman ſet out in life with a fortune, or as this writer's patron, the Iriſh adventurer, did, without a ſingle ſixpence.

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and mercantile nations, who raiſe themſelves from the very dregs of the people, to wealth and power; and whilſt they bear their good fortune meekly, turning their mind now and then to the blue coat, or pariſh badge, with a lifted eye of thankfulneſs to God for the change, they are reſpected in ſociety; nor is their ſnug chariot, or neat villa, envied to them by their leſs fortunate neighbours: but when men, whoſe origin is ſo obſcure, that no pariſh regiſter can be found, which bears their name, obtain wealth ſo ſuddenly, that nobody can account for the means, and at the enormous maſs of which, they themſelves ſeem ſurpriſed, conjectures injurious to their moral rectitude, will and muſt have place. If it be true that ſuch upſtart beings, intoxicated with pride, drive furiouſly on in the public way, covering with duſt and filth, people of all ranks, general contempt is what they deſerve. If there be ſuch, who, purchaſing manors on which their fathers kept ſheep, or building palaces on the ſpot, where heretofore, in a blue apron, they themſelves drew ale; and where they now exceed in luxurious expence, pomp of equipage, and every oſtentatious, frivolous, and uſeleſs act of coſtly extravagance, the firſt nobles of the land; they deſerve, and richly too, the infamous appellation of *ſpurious Nabobs.* To the folly and abſurdity of this tribe, it has, in a great meaſure, been owing, that their innocent countrymen, who have ſerved in Aſia, have been treated with a diſreſpect

diſreſpect which they have not deſerved at the hands of their countrymen, as I ſhall prove before I cloſe this book.

As it is clear from the above account, that the great bulk of the Engliſh gentlemen who have ſerved in India, could not become real Nabobs, neither were they, or are they, deſirous of being conſidered as ſuch; and whereas no part of their conduct abroad, or at home, ſubjects them juſtly to the imputation of being ſpurious Nabobs, it is but reaſonable and juſt, that they ſhould be ſeparated from them.

The charges which have been brought againſt the Indians in general, in the daily papers, and other periodical, but anonymous publications, have been various and innumerable; but as they have been alſo general, and unattended by proof of any kind, or chargeable on any one individual, I muſt conſider them as party ſquibbs, ſhot off at convenient periods, to ſerve the intereſted views of particular perſons, or to gratify their ſpleen or their envy. Such general accuſations are beneath notice. But as a diſlike to Aſiatic gentlemen, could not have become ſo prevalent and general throughout the nation (as I have had many reaſons to convince me it has done) unſupported by ſome foundation, I muſt conclude, that it has principally ariſen from the following cauſes.

First.

FIRST. The dreadful accounts tranſmitted from Bengal, of the conſequences of the famine in 1770, with the concluſions which were drawn therefrom, to the prejudice of individuals then reſident in Bengal, both in public and private ſtations.

SECONDLY. The contents of the Reports of the Select and Secret Committees of the Houſe of Commons, inſtituted to enquire into the ſtate of the Eaſt India Company's affairs at home and abroad, in 1772.

THIRDLY. The alluſions contained in the digreſſional parts of the third volume of Col. Dow's Hiſtory of Hindooſtan.

LASTLY. The curious repreſentations of the three gentlemen, appointed by an Act of Parliament, to form a majority of the Council General at Bengal, in 1774.

I WILL give each of the above heads a ſeparate conſideration, and in ſo doing, I hope to convince at leaſt a moiety of my readers, that they have been moſt groſsly impoſed on, and thereby led to judge, not only harſhly, but unjuſtly, of a great majority of their fellow ſubjects, who have acted in Aſia.

In a former work of mine, I ſaid a great deal on the ſubject of the famine; but as that is now out of print, and has long ſince been forgotten, I ſhall here repeat a few of the facts I then referred to. Bengal, like Egypt, is a country very fruitful in grain. Both of them lie between the 20th and 30th degrees of north latitude, and depend equally on the periodical fall of rain, for their fertilization. The overflowing of the Ganges is as beneficial to the firſt, as that of the Nile to the laſt, though not ſo abſolutely neceſſary; becauſe all over the low country of Bengal, great quantities of rain fall every year, which is not the caſe in Egypt. The riſe of the river Nile, depends almoſt entirely on the great quantity of water, which falls in the mountains of Abyſſinia or Ethiopia; ſo does the Ganges, Barampoota, and other rivers which fertilize Bengal, on that which annually falls in the mountains of Thibet and Bootan. A very dry ſeaſon is equally fatal to both countries. But Bengal ſuffers as much in ſome ſeaſons, from too great a fall of water, as from a ſcarcity, which I believe is ſeldom the caſe in Egypt. From thoſe two cauſes, the price of rice fluctuates greatly at Bengal, inſomuch, that it is ſometimes ſo very cheap, that it will not pay the expence of collecting in; and at others ſo very ſcarce, that a temporary famine inevitably enſues. That which happened in the year 1770, was one of the moſt ſevere which we read of in the records of time. The cauſes of it, were un-

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doubtedly the following. I was on the ſpot, was a great exporter of grain, and had but too good an opportunity of being an eye witneſs of all the horrors of that moſt dreadful viſitation, where dogs, jackals, vultures, and every bird and beaſt of prey, grew fat and unweildy on the fleſh of man. Nor were ſuch ſights in any degree ſo ſhocking, as others of which I was a helpleſs and daily witneſs, and which, in compaſſion to the feelings of my readers, I paſs over in ſilence.

THE harveſt of rice in September 1766, was ſo plentiful all over the provinces, that many of the farmers left latter crops on the ground, as it would not pay the expence of gathering in. Stacking of corn, the climate, and the nature of rice, will not admit; and threſhing and houſing are too expenſive, in times of ſuch uncommon and dangerous plenty. This induced a very general neglect of cultivation in the article of rice in 1767; becauſe there was not a man in the kingdom, who did not think, that there was at that time, a ſtock of rice on hand, ſufficient for three years conſumption; and our provident national policy, of allowing a bounty on exportation in days of plenty, to enable the farmer to go on to plant, was not underſtood, or not practiſed, at Bengal; on the reverſe, the oppoſite and pernicious policy prevailed; for the exportation was checked, by a duty of ten per cent. being levied on it.

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THE harveſt of 1768, was more than half waſhed away by exceſſive floods, which no mounds of earth, or artificial fences, can reſiſt: And that of 1769, proved ſcanty for want of water, to ſuch a degree, that about the ſeed time, or time of ſowing in 1770, the want of rice was univerſally felt over all the kingdom.

DREADFUL as the above circumſtances are, there exiſted local prejudices, which made them more horrid. The great body of the natives of Bengal, are rigid Hindoos, who live on rice and vegetables. The firſt failed them; and the three months preceding the ſowing ſeaſon, that is from February to May, are ſo remarkably ſultry and dry, that little or none can be made to grow, even to ſerve as ſallad: and though animal food of all ſorts, was in plenty, millions died rather than touch it. As to importation of grain from abroad, the very freight of rice to Bengal, from any place in India where it could be had, amounts to more money, three times told, than the common natives are ever able to pay for it. In a country ſo regulated as England, when wheat comes to eight or nine ſhillings the buſhel, the poor have ſome reſource in other ſorts of grain, as well as in animal food, and in vegetables, ſuch as potatoes, turnips, carrots, cabbages, and other eſculent plants and roots, that will keep: But was it to riſe to eighteen ſhillings the buſhel, and then not to be had, what

would become of our people, or our government? and who, but Almighty God, could relieve them? Horrid as the above idea is, how infinitely ſhort does it fall, of the miſeries experienced by the common natives of Bengal, who, had they had wherewithal to have paid for it, could not have obtained rice at ten times the common price; that is, the ſcarcity was ſo general, ſo great, and ſo dreadful, that the price of rice was equivalent to the price of wheat in England, at five pounds ſterling the buſhel.

HERE it was reported, and believed, that the Engliſh inhabitants took advantage of the ſcarcity, to enrich themſelves by monopolizing the rice. Would to heaven it had been ſo; thouſands of lives would have been ſaved. Had Engliſhmen, or any other men, but taken the ſurplus rice off the farmers hands, in 1766, the full and uſual quantity, would have been planted in 1767. In that caſe, the loſs of half the crops of 1768 and 1769, would not have cauſed ſo great a ſcarcity in 1770, as to carry off a large proportion of the inhabitants, by that moſt dreadful of all calamities. Such were the cauſes, and ſuch the effects, of the famine at Bengal. Nor Engliſhmen, nor any other men, have any thing to anſwer for at the throne of God. That being the caſe, their countrymen ſhould ceaſe to propagate, or believe ſtories, ſo malicious in the invention, and ſo falſe in fact.

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The Second Head.

The ſecond head relates to the *diſcoveries*, as they were called, made by the Committees of the Houſe of Commons, which ſat on India affairs, in 1772 and 1773. The word diſcovery, in the ſenſe which in this place it muſt be underſtood, implies, that they had found out ſomething in the conduct of the Eaſt India gentlemen, which they had intended to hide from the world. This certainly was not the caſe; for all which the Committees have publiſhed, was found on the face of the Eaſt India Company's records, open to the peruſal, not only of the twenty-four Directors, and every clerk about the India Houſe, but alſo to the inſpection and controul of ſeveral thouſand Proprietors. One would imagine, ſuch a party was too numerous to keep ſecrets, in particular, as many amongſt them were women. But the truth is, no ſecret was intended. The principal crime laid to their charge, was their having received preſents of immenſe ſums of money, from the country Princes. Moſt of the gentlemen who had been guilty of this enormous offence, being in England, were ſent for, and examined by the Committees; and what is ſingular, ſo far were they from denying the charge, that they helped the Committee to much additional information, and candid explanation, relative to the when, and how, from whom, and wherefore; which they need

need not to have done, (for they were not examined upon oath,) and this their candour, was turned into comments, remarks, and obſervations, againſt themſelves, by the Committee's managers. This conduct in the Miniſtry of that day, has, by the famous orator, the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, been called a mere ſtate job, a political deluſion, a rod held over their heads *in terrorem*, by which, "*The Eaſt India Company was to be covered with* "*infamy and diſgrace, and at the ſame time was to* "*pay the whole bill.*"

As there is no man in England, more converſant in the tricks of Miniſters and Committe jobs, than Mr. Burke is univerſally allowed to be, I ſhall reſt that part of the defence on his authority, and proceed to relate what the Princes and great men in Aſia themſelves, thought and ſaid on the ſame ſubject of receiving preſents.

When the printed reports came out to India, I frequently amuſed myſelf in explaining the ſpirit and tendency of them to ſome of the great country gentlemen, who had themſelves been guilty of giving away their own money to the Engliſh in power, and in conſequence held, at various times, converſations on the ſubject, with Hindoos, Muſſulmen, and perſons of all parties, caſts, and denominations, religious and civil. I will endeavour to throw the ſubſtance and ſpirit of all they ſaid,

into

into one converſation, ſuch as at different periods, I held with different men, and thereby convey, as well as I can, the general opinion, and reſult of the whole, to my Engliſh reader, in form of dialogue, between myſelf and a Bengal gentleman of family and independent fortune, whom, in compliance with the taſte of the times, I ſhall call a Nabob.

NABOB. Mr. Author, I cannot underſtand why the Members of your Houſe of Parliament, ſhould become ſo angry with us India gentlemen, for making preſents of our own property to whom we pleaſe. Have we not a right ſo to do?

AUTHOR. I find that you do not fully underſtand me, Sir. No men in the world, are ſo tenacious of the liberty and property of individuals, as Engliſh Members of Parliament. It is their uncommon anxiety about the ſecurity of private property, which has induced them to believe ſome certain perſons, who have aſſerted, that you, Sir, and other great men of this country, have had your money forced from you, without your conſent; and it is with a view to find out and puniſh ſuch tyranny, that the Parliamentary enquiries have been inſtituted.

NABOB. Indeed! Why that is generous, truly. But who from amongſt yourſelves (for none of *us*, tha

that I know of, hold correſpondence with the Engliſh Parliament), are the people who have propagated ſuch unfounded ſtories?

AUTHOR. I believe, Sir, that you have been perſonally acquainted with ſome of them. You remember Colonel Dow, and Mr. William Bolts?

NABOB. Colonel Dow and Mr. Bolts! Have they ſaid any thing injurious to the character of other Engliſh gentlemen?

AUTHOR. They have, Sir, both ſaid and written a great deal againſt Engliſh gentlemen, and Bengal gentlemen too, as I will one day read and explain to you.

NABOB. Why you ſurpriſe me. Colonel Dow ſeemed to me to have devoted his time to enquiries into the hiſtory of this country. His whole converſation turned that way. A Perſian manuſcript, or memoir, appeared to give him as much pleaſure in the acquiſition, as money. Indeed, he had his ſhare of both. But as he lived on the beſt of terms with Lord Clive, Governor Verelſt, and that beſt of all Chriſtians, Governor John Cartier, and your other powerful men, as well as Sujah ul Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, Mahommed Reza Cawn, and many other of ours, what can he have ſaid againſt them? As to Mr. Bolts, he was what we

we call a thorough bred merchant, whoſe predominant paſſion was the love of gain; to that principle he ſacrificed every thing. You muſt have heard that he has written to his Banyan, and other country merchants here, that his affairs have turned out ſo bad, that he has been obliged to become bankrupt—and ſo pay all his debts at once. This news makes his friends ——— and ——— look white; for he owes to them, and their dependents, three hundred and forty thouſand rupees on bond. But I do not like to talk of him. You know how infamous we think the character of a man, who acted ſo baſe a part as he did.

AUTHOR. You judge right, Sir: but even he, contemptible as he is, has met with patrons in England, where we Engliſh gentlemen of Aſia, ſeem to have been proſcribed in the lump. But what think you of Colonel Dow's inſinuating in the introduction to his third volume, that ſuch men as Mr. Vanſittart, Lord Clive, Governor Vereliſt, &c. had conſigned Nabobs to eternal reſt, to make way for others, who was to pay for their inſtalments? Nay more, that Sujah ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, is the blackeſt of all villains, and Mahommed Reza Cawn not a whit better.

NABOB. Is it poſſible! But ſurely the characters of ſuch men as Lord Clive, Mr. Vanſittart, Vereiſt and Cartier, will ſecure them from the venomous

venomous ſhafts of fifty ſuch perſons as Colonel Dow? As to his drawing ſuch a picture of Sujah ul Dowlah, I can in ſome degree account for it. He wanted the Viziar to grant him, in the name of another perſon, the leaſe of ſome ſalt petre farms, which the Nabob had previouſly granted away. This Dow would nor believe, and grew out of humour. But it is the moſt villainous ingratitude in him, to abuſe Mahommed Reza; becauſe to my certain knowledge, at the requeſt of Governor Verelſt, Dow was introduced to that Nabob at the city, and received from him ſome handſome preſents.

Author. Very true, Sir; I have heard the ſame: but gratitude dwells not with groveling ſouls, and Dow's is ſuch. But ſo influenced are the prejudices of our countrymen now againſt us, that *the more infamous and furious the informer, the more readily is his hiſtory believed.*

Nabob. I am truly ſorry for it. I am now an old man, and have not many years longer to continue in this world. I have, Mr. Author, ſeen very extraordinary changes in this kingdom, ſince the uſurpation of Allaverdy Cawn. Many towns and villages have I ſeen deſolated, burnt, and laid waſte, by the Mahrattas. It is not our cuſtom to wage war like Europeans; when we conquer, we deſtroy what we cannot carry off. The war with the

the Engliſh in 1756 (your ſtile) was ſudden, unexpected, and has been productive of very extraordinary conſequences. Surajah ul Dowlah was a fooliſh, headſtrong young man, and had many low, illiterate, evil counſellors about him. You remember theſe things as well as I do. But our intercourſe with your nation, was in theſe days merely mercantile. We knew you not as warriors. Your perſonal and individual courage, was not unknown to us; but your numbers were too few, for us to apprehend any danger from you. As to the ſurpriſing revolution effected by the battle of Plaſſey, it was the work of God. Believe me, Mr. Author, on the news of that event reaching Moorſhadabad, where I then reſided, the panic was general; for we all thought that the Engliſh would, in revenge for what had happened the preceding year at Calcutta, have plundered and burnt the city; and what would have been worſe than death to us, have defiled our wives, our daughters, and our temples. The dread and terror of ſuch (as we thought) inevitable conſequences of your victory, no words can deſcribe. Even when proclamation was made the day following, that provided every body remained quiet in their houſes, no harm ſhould come to them, it was not believed. Many buried their wealth in ſecret places, about their houſe and gardens. Moſt of the great families (and mine amongſt the reſt) were prepared to deſtroy their women, had a general ſack of the city commenced, as we

all

all expected. It was extremely fortunate that there were in your camp, numbers of Sircars and Banyans, ſervants and attendants on the Engliſh army, who came voluntarily to our houſes, and laughed at, and diſpelled our fears. Many of thoſe cunning rogues laid us under pecuniary contribution, the two or three firſt days after the battle, under promiſe of procuring from their maſters, the Engliſh officers, Seapoy guards for our ſeparate houſes. All this ended with the proclamation giving notice of a New Nabob. But believe me, Mr. Author, had proclamation been made, that every houſe ſhould be free from the pillage of the common ſoldiers, whoſe owner ſhould bring into the Engliſh factory, what ready money he had in his houſe, the ſums rendered, would have exceeded your utmoſt idea. What muſt have been our ſurpriſe and joy, when we found that nothing but peace and quietneſs were expected from us?

The ſame dread ſpread far and wide over all the provinces, and the ſame ſenſe of gratitude was expreſſed on aſſurances of ſafety. After ſuch forbearance and moderation in you, ſo contrary to the cuſtom of Aſia, and even contrary to what you had experienced from us the year before at Calcutta, what power on earth had a right to limit our gratitude? We did make preſents; not on the principle for which we worſhip the Devil, *(fear,)* but in return for your godlike and Chriſtian forbearance.

Believe

Believe me, Mr. Author, I never heard that one houſe was plundered, one woman defiled, or one life loſt, (except in the field, in conſequence of the victory,) by the deſire, and with the knowledge, of a European, in that whole affair. Some diſorders aroſe, no doubt, from the violence of the troops of the defeated Nabob, who being much in arrears of pay, run away from the field, with intent to plunder the city, inſtead of doing their duty in defending it; but that was not much, and but of ſhort duration; for they ſought ſafety by throwing away their arms and accoutrements, and mingling with the common citizens, until Meer Jaffier was proclaimed, and then they entered into his ſervice."

. . . . . .

Such was the opinion of the Indians themſelves, of the conduct of our countrymen, immediately after the battle of Plaſſey. Colonel Clive came home in 1760, and returned to Bengal, with the title of Lord Clive, in 1765. In the interval, Meer Jaffier had been ſilently depoſed, for defect of ability to govern, and Coſſim Ally Cawn inſtalled in his room, who compelled the Company's managers, even the men who had made him Nabob, into a war of ſelf defence; and the Nabob, Meer Jaffier was ſet up againſt him. But he did not long ſurvive his ſecond exhaltation. He died after a tedious fit of ſickneſs, partly from age, and partly from grief for the loſs of his eldeſt ſon. By his will

he

he left his friend, Lord Clive, then on his paſſage to Bengal, a very large ſum of money, which that great man gave to eſtabliſh the military fund, from which ſuperannuated officers, as well as the widows of deceaſed officers, in the Company's ſervice, receive a handſome annual allowance.

Lord Clive arrived in 1765, and found Coſſim Ally Cawn expelled, and the country in peace; But he plainly ſaw, that the middle plan which he had formerly adopted, of leaving the civil government, and the collection of the revenues, in the hands of a family, whom, from a private ſtation, he had raiſed to the throne, and keeping the direction of political affairs, and command of the army, in the hands of the Company, was, in fact, dividing the ſtate againſt itſelf. To this *Imperium in Imperio*, we owe not only the war in Bengal, with Coſſim Ally Cawn, but the ruin of the Carnatic, to a ſimilar one on the coaſt, which I could prove, was I writing hiſtory. His Lordſhip ſaw it, and contrived the means to obtain from Shah Allum, then the mere nominal Emperor of Hindooſtan, a grant of the dewannee, or the office of collector-general of the revenue for the Company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa. From that moment there has, in fact, been but one power in Bengal, and it has ſecured peace to the provinces from that hour to this.

THERE

THERE has been ſomething extremely ſingular and ridiculous, in the whole conduct of the Engliſh government, with reſpect to Bengal. If ever the national banner was diſplayed in a juſt and honourable war, that with Surajah ul Dowlah was ſuch; and by the law of nations, to retain conqueſts acquired in ſuch a war, has hitherto been deemed lawful and right. But the Engliſh ſeem to have been terrified at the idea of their own ſucceſs. They conquer a country in ſelf defence, which they heſitate to keep, and want reſolution to give up. Create a Nabob, to whom they give a kingdom, and become themſelves his penſioners; but finding their idol a compound of tyrannic knave, and deſpicable fool, they make him a penſioner in his turn, to his ſon-in-law, Coſſim Ally Cawn: but ſoon after finding Coſſim to be all knave, without a particle of fool in his compoſition, they wiſh his removal. But had he not been a moſt daſtardly coward, he would have convinced his makers, that he could do without them, and have driven them out of the kingdom to the ſouth, inſtead of ſuffering them to drive him to the north. Embarraſſed by their own policy, they ſaw no remedy, but again to fall down and worſhip the old calf, which they had a ſecond time ſet up. Meer Jaffier died, and they recognized their ſovereign in his ſecond ſon: and things were running on in the old abſurd channel of a double government, when Lord Clive arrived, who reverſed the ſyſtem;

inſtead

inſtead of continuing the Company penſioners to the Nabob, he made the Nabob a penſioner to the Company. The power now was all their own; but they wanted to hide it from the world, ſo played the Nabob off as the Punch of the puppet ſhow. This abſurd policy, I have heard, was dictated to Lord Clive by the *Miniſtry*, to avoid involving the nation in diſputes with the other European powers, whoſe ſubjects were ſettled in Bengal.

THE conducting of the dewannee, was a new branch of buſineſs, and it gave opportunity to a ſet of men, who had lately arrived from Europe with Lord Clive, to employ their talents. His Lordſhip came to Calcutta in 1765, and embarked for England in the beginning of 1767. It is between the date of his arrival, and the beginning of 1770, that I reckon the period the moſt productive of ſpurious Nabobs, of any in the Engliſh annals. Then it was, that a cheeſemonger's ſon had the command of a very great army, and that a mite was turned into a general—And then it was, that perſons who had been tainted with London air, returned to India at the moſt fortunate period for practiſing the leſſons they had learned in England.

THE THIRD HEAD.

I THINK that the third volume of Colonel Dow's Hiſtory of Hindooſtan, was publiſhed about the time

time the Committees were formed in 1772. He was himſelf in England, ſoliciting promotion in the Company's ſervice. That he had lived in a very great degree of friendly intercourſe, and perſonal intimacy, with every one of the Governors of Bengal, from the capture of Calcutta in 1757, to the time he left Bengal in 1767, I am confident; that he had received favours from ſome of them, is as certain. What fortune he poſſeſſed, had been acquired at Bengal: nor is it in my memory, that he had any particular conteſt or diſpute, with any Governor, or man in power, in India. I believe that he was one of the reſigning officers, in their conteſt with Lord Clive and his Council, about the reduction of batta, or extra allowance to the army. But this was by no means a perſonal affair, or intended to affect any particular individual in the army, officer or private man. The Company found that their military expences at Bengal, exceeded their ability to ſupport, and left nothing to themſelves. Lord Clive, on his leaving England, had undertaken to reduce the military diſburſements within proper bounds. Few men would have had ſpirit to have gone through it as he did; (but he was a heaven born General; which expreſſion I underſtand to mean, a man born with vaſt military abilities, prodigious preſence of mind in all poſſible ſituations of danger, and without a particle of fear in his whole compoſition; ſuch a man was Lord Clive.) Many men who then warm-

ly oppoſed him, have ſince acknowledged the abſolute neceſſity of the meaſure. That circumſtance then, could not have induced Colonel Dow to inſinuate, in the introduction to his third volume of Aſiatic hiſtory, that his countrymen acting abroad, ſtuck at nothing, no, not even the ſending Nabobs to ſleep with their fathers, when it ſuited their avarice or ambition. Dreadful charge indeed! But as I feel a conviction on my mind, which amounts to certainty, that ſuch an idea never for a moment had poſſeſſion of any man's mind in Aſia, not even of that of Colonel Dow himſelf, I boldly affirm, that it originated in Europe.

Colonel Dow being dead, I ſhall, therefore, in compliance with the falſe charity eſtabliſhed in the world, ſo far ſpare his memory, as to draw no concluſions from the infirmities of his private character, to ſupport my argument. But this muſt not be underſtood to mean, that I am a convert to the doctrine. Colonel Dow, in his inſinuations and alluſions, has fixed no period, nor uſed any names, and in my opinion, this conſtitutes the eſſence of his crime, as it involves indiſcriminately in the charge, the whole body of the Company's Governors, and their Council, who acted in Bengal, from the recapture of Calcutta, to the printing of the book: A charge ſo general, and undefined, muſt have been intended to raiſe, or continue, general odium. Inſtead of attempting to defend them againſt

againſt ſo vague a charge, I will endeavour to ſhew, that the introduction in which thoſe vile inſinuations are contained, was fabricated in this country, and calculated to ſerve a particular purpoſe.

At the time that the third volume of Dow's hiſtory was in the preſs, an idea had been taken up by the Miniſter of the day, to claim the territory held by the Eaſt India Company, in behalf of the Crown. To facilitate this arbitrary meaſure, it was neceſſary to make uſe of every means to blacken the Eaſt India Company, and their ſervants abroad, in the eyes of the nation. Bolts was encouraged in his infamous publications. Dow was flattered, and induced to permit ſome plans, ſchemes, and general reflections, to be bound up with his third volume, to facilitate the great work in hand. Thoſe who wiſh to ſee a good deſcription of the whole miniſterial ſcheme then carrying on in Parliament, in order to fleece, if not annihilate, the devoted Eaſt India Company, will do well to read the Right Honourable Mr. Edmund Burke's tract, called Obſervations on a late State of the Nation, publiſhed by J. Dodſley in Pall-Mall, in 1769, from page 88, to page 93 incluſive, where they will find a moſt curious deſcription of that whole tranſaction.

In India, Col. Dow was conſidered as a heavy, plodding, but moſt indefatigable, ſearcher after ſcraps of Aſiatic hiſtory, and Perſian manuſcripts; and by dint of a laborious application to Aſiatic languages, for a number of years, came at laſt to tranſlate, by the medium of a Mooriſh linguiſt, from the Perſian into Engliſh, tolerably well. His General Hiſtory of Hindooſtan, will remain in libraries, and be conſidered as a uſeful book of reference to future writers. But as to the introductory papers, plans, &c. they are not of his fabrication. Hints he may have furniſhed; but the work itſelf, is the production of a much abler penman, and the ſentiments calculated to forward the buſineſs of the day. Dow's hints were dreſſed up and ſeaſoned to the taſte of the times, when the prejudice againſt all ſorts of Indians, was at a ſufficient height to admit into general credit, inſinuations of the moſt infamous ſort, for matters of fact. At the ſame time, the ridiculous, oſtentatious, and contemptible conduct of ſome of the *ſpurious Nabobs*, juſtified the national opinion, grounded on falſe information, ſupported by vile inſinuation, and ſanctified by power.

The Fourth Head.

The accumulated maſs of falſe information relative to the famine; the illiberal concluſions of the Committees, reſpecting the general receipt of preſents;

preſents; Dow's inſinuations of ſecret murders; and Bolts's unjuſt ſtatements of the inadequateneſs of the Mayor's Court, to an equal diſtribution of juſtice, to the Engliſh inhabitants of Calcutta, in Bengal, operated ſo completely on the minds of the public, as to enable the Miniſtry to put in, with a degree of uncommon ſucceſs, for a ſhare of Aſiatic patronage. The abſurdity, pernicious tendency, and inefficacy of the Supreme Court of Judicature, have been ſince experienced, detected, and exploded, and their powers trimmed down to the ſize of the old Mayor's Court. All the difference is, that the former mode of adminiſtering juſtice, coſt the Company 2000*l.* per annum, and the preſent mode, by the Supreme Court, 100,000*l.* per annum. The former had no litigiouſneſs in its conſtruction, the latter nothing elſe. But the grand point gained on the ſide of the Miniſtry, was the nomination of the Governor and Council General to Bengal. It happened that Mr. Haſtings, the gentleman who was Governor at that time, was a man of great abilities, great experience in the affairs of India, and of unblemiſhed character. But General John Clavering, who was nominated to the Deputy Governorſhip, and the command of the army, carried with him a majority of the Council from England. Inſtead of entering cordially into the conduct of the adminiſtration, jointly with the Governor General, who had the experience of twenty-four years to direct his judgement, the majority

majority of the civil government, with an old vindictive ſoldier at their head, entered violently into a retroſpective view of the meaſures of the late adminiſtration. Whenever, or where-ever, ſuch impolitic, injudicious, and weak conduct is purſued, violent parties are inſtantly formed. Every man, who has ſpleen to gratify againſt the former men in power, join the new party. Candour, temper, truth, and fair dealing, are laid aſide; and every mean art, every political ſubterfuge is employed, to ruin the former adminiſtration in the opinion of the world. The Majority, conſiſting of General John Clavering, Colonel George Monſon, and one Philip Francis, a clerk from the war office, on the firſt meeting of the General Council, made known their violent intentions. They had left England impreſſed with the ideas which at that time very generally prevailed, viz. that there was not an honeſt man in the Company's ſervice in India; and having the whole military and civil power in their hands, and of courſe the diſpoſal of every place which ſhould become vacant, and of every contract that ſhould fall in, they boldly, and without the leaſt diſguiſe, commenced an attack, not only on the meaſures of the preceding adminiſtration, but of the Governor General's honour and integrity. All thoſe who attempted to defend the old Council, or Mr. Haſtings, whether in or out of the ſervice, were proſcribed; and no man was to expect any favour, or even to be treated with common decency

cy by the Majority, or their friends, who would not join in the general cry, to hunt down the Governor General. Some of the members of the former Council, diſguſted at being ſuperſeded, after having ſerved the Company great part of their lives, reſigned the ſervice, and returned to Europe. This was repreſented by the Majority, to their friends in power here, as proceeding from conſcious guilt, and an eagerneſs to get out of harm's way. They reprobated former meaſures; declared they had come to the knowledge of ſuch facts and circumſtances, as obliged them to change their opinion of the abilities, integrity, and diſintereſtedneſs of Governor Haſtings; gave a hundred hints of his delinquency; and in the firſt month of their adminiſtration, pledged themſelves to the Company and the nation, that they would very ſhortly tranſmit to Europe, proof poſitive of all they ſaid, or alluded to, in their ſeveral letters by the firſt ſhips which were diſpatched after their arrival in the country.

When theſe advices arrived in England, people were thunderſtruck. Hitherto the character of Mr. Haſtings, had ſtood the teſt of the moſt ſevere ſcrutiny, both at the India Houſe, and in both Committees of the Houſe of Commons. At the time the Act paſſed, to transfer the appointment of Governor General and Council, from the Company to the legiſlative body of the nation, Mr. Haſtings

Haſtings was Governor of Bengal; and not a man in, or out of Parliament, held up his finger to oppoſe his reappointment to the Governor Generalſhip for five years. How then were they ſurpriſed at hearing, that the new men had, in the courſe of a month, *a little month*, after their arrival in Bengal, diſcovered ſuch acts of delinquency, as, on the truth and notoriouſneſs of them, to pledge themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner to make them good.

The names of General Clavering and Colonel Monſon, were ſigned to the aſſertions. They were men of high military character, and unimpeached honour; that alone was ſufficient to cauſe a difference in opinion all over the nation. People could not conceive that it was poſſible for ſuch men to ſign to ſuch charges, without having in their poſſeſſion, proof poſitive of the facts, to which they ſo ſolemnly ſubſcribed. On the other ſide, in all the noiſe and ſcandal which, at this time, had been raiſed in the nation againſt the Nabobs, Mr. Haſting's name had never been mentioned with the leaſt diſreſpect. How then could men of moderation and candour, give him up unheard in his own defence? But the Majority had croſſed the *rubicon*; they had committed themſelves too deeply to retreat; and their friends at the weſt, and at the eaſt end of the town, beſtirred themſelves in their ſupport: Nor would the moſt perfect innocence in

Mr.

Mr. Haſtings, have ſaved him, had his competitor for the government, General Clavering, lived. Since his death, the whole charge has been examined and refuted, even to the moſt trifling circumſtance. Again it has been brought forward, by a party in the India Houſe, and in Parliament, as virulent and vindictive as the former; and again refuted to the diſgrace of the party. The *War-Office Clerk* is now known, and his principles and virulence perfectly deſpiſed, by every man of candour in the kingdom. Totally deſerted and neglected, the man has fallen back into his original rank and ſphere of life, from whence nothing but miniſterial influence, for ſome dirty ſervice, could at firſt have lifted him, and where he muſt for ever remain a prey to his own gloomy reflection, a kind of out-caſt in the midſt of millions, without honour, credit, or conſequence.

HAVING anſwered the four great charges which have been brought againſt the Indians in general, under the denomination of Nabobs, I ſhall proceed to a further explanation of the different orders of Nabobs.

I HAVE already made it clear, that there never was but one real Engliſh Nabob, and that was the great hero Lord Clive. Next come the ſpurious ones; and it is a moſt ſingular part of their character, that on their firſt return to England, their fortunes

fortunes were moderate, and their conduct ſo prudent, as to give no cauſe of offence, and conſequently they were, at that period, only *reputed* Nabobs: but being by nature of an ambitious, reſtleſs, avaricious, or vain diſpoſition, they either lived above their *income*, or fancied they were too much neglected, and ſo took it in their heads to go back again to India.

Few of thoſe who have been flattered with the ſervile and obſequious manners of the people of Aſia, are calculated to plant turnips, and enjoy, in this country, the calm and inſipid quiet of a country life. It requires manners rendered mild, and a temper ſoothed down to equality, by philoſophical reflection on the abſurd vanities of buſy life, to enjoy ſuch retreat. How few perſons do we find bleſſed with ſuch temper! Here and there indeed, we meet a Governor John Cartier, and a General Joe Smith, who, feeling that they are but mere mortals, made up of the ſame materials as their poor neighbours, diſpenſe the ſuperflux to their indigent fellow creatures, ſleep well a-nights, and thank God for the remainder.

They ſay that none but a maſon can make a maſon; but it does not reſt with an Engliſh Nabob to create others; yet Lord Clive accidentally cauſed ſome miſerable counterfeits to be impoſed on the nation. The firſt part of the character of a ſpurious Nabob is, that he is a perſon who, by a long

long reſidence in India, had acquired a moderate independence, and returned with it to Europe; but from not having ſtudied the art of happineſs with a mere competence, or being ſeized with a fit of avarice, ambition, or of gambling extravagance and diſſipation, which being the produce of the age, are to be met with at every corner, found himſelf, ſoon after his arrival, made ſo uneaſy, as to be obliged to return again to India. There is no one man that I know, who has made but one voyage to India, that is intitled to the rank and title of a ſpurious Nabob; the character is incomplete without having ſtudied the vices of the age in London. I wiſh the reader to run over in his mind, the conſpicuous characters commonly called great Nabobs, and he will find my obſervation to be juſt. They leave London with the ſame reflection, as Jugurtha, the African Prince, formerly left Rome, and with a firm reſolution never to return, but with the means to buy ſeats in Parliament, ſeats in the Direction, or at leaſt ſeats in the temple of fame. Of good or bad, Pope ſays, the difference is a trifle.

THERE is one man indeed, whoſe fortune was ſo very ſmall, after a reſidence in India of fourteen years, that when in England, he could not take rank with a Welſh Juſtice of the Peace, though he had filled high and important ſtations during his ſtay in Aſia. He returned again, and has now been near

near twelve years Governor of Bengal: but there is a kind of obſtinacy in his diſpoſition; and he is ſo abominably ſelf-willed, that in order to make the wondering people of this country underſtand his character rightly, I am obliged to create a rank on purpoſe for him. As Lord Clive was the only genuine and real Nabob, Governor Haſtings is the ſingle inſtance of a *ſimple Nabob*. He will neither make money himſelf, nor accept it when tendered to him. So ſilly and girliſh is the man's deſire to relieve the diſtreſſes of all his fellow creatures, that he cannot keep a *rupee*. If this is not folly in the extreme, I know not what is. But there are ſome kinds of madneſs that no medicine can cure; and ſhould Governor Haſtings ſettle in a county in England, after his return, where the poverty and diſtreſs of the neighbourhood, happens to be very conſpicuous, I would not give ſixpence to be his heir.

The above paragraph muſt be conſidered as digreſſional, and apart from the work. The character is new and uncommon, and I was obliged to find a niche on purpoſe for it.

We come now to the *reputed Nabobs*, or maſs of Engliſh gentlemen, who have ſerved the Eaſt India Company in Aſia, and who, after a long courſe of years, have returned to ſpend the remainder of their days, amongſt their few ſurviving friends in their

their native country. Would to heaven that this claſs were more numerous than they are. Of theſe I ſhall make no diſtinction, whether they acted in the civil, military, or marine ſervice of the Company. Together, they form a diſtinct character, (before they were debaſed by too great a maſs of members formerly of their own body, whoſe morals had been corrupted in this country, or of full grown, needy adventurers, perfect in nothing but the vices of the age, was thrown amongſt them,) as amiable and perfect as human nature can any where boaſt. It is in the memory of every body, that the Bengal families were conſidered at home and abroad (indeed the ſame may be ſaid of all the Preſidencies) as the moſt generous, hoſpitable, humane, and charitable ſet of beings, of any in the world. This character exiſted only before the fatal year 1774, when the evil genius of Britain, in the Boſton Port Bill, and the Eaſt India Regulating Bill, prepared the inſtruments for diſmembering the empire. Prior to the year 1774, Aſiatic gentlemen poſſeſſed a character marked and diſtinct; and I deſire to be underſtood, by reputed Nabobs, men who had ſerved in India before that time; for ſince, Miniſtry have found the Company's ſervice a great gulf, capable of ſwallowing up a vaſt maſs of that filthy matter, which for ever attends on power, in the ſhape of convenient tools in office, ſycophants, and flatterers, the character has been vitiated, and almoſt deſtroyed. From the rank

hotbed

hotbed of a Court, ſprung the *muſhroom* Nabobs. Look at the liſt of needy adventurers ſent over by court and miniſterial influence, and there will be found profeſſors in the art of gambling, horſe-racing, boxing, cock-fighting, ſtage playing, ſwindling, and every branch of modern genteel ſcience, inſomuch, that in a few years, Calcutta has become a ſink of iniquity, almoſt as infamous as London itſelf.

THE *reputed* Nabobs have marks by which they may be known, as well as the *ſpurious*; and as they have ſpread themſelves all over the kingdom, they may be diſtinguiſhed in the following manner. I would have their neighbours, both in town and country, before they determine on the character which they ought to bear amongſt them, to ſatisfy themſelves in the following circumſtances. Did their new neighbour go out in the Eaſt India Company's ſervice at ſixteen, or not more than eighteen years of age, either as a writer, cadet, aſſiſtant ſurgeon, or midſhipman for the Bombay marine ſervice? Was he full fifteen years in the ſervice at one time? Was he in the courſe of that time ever ſuſpended, mulcted in his rank, or diſmiſſed the ſervice for corrupt practices? Did he come home during that time? no matter on what account, for London air corrupts Bengal manners ſo abominably, that he will not do: But if not, and that all the other queries ſhall be anſwered as they

they ought to be, then depend upon it, their new pariſhioner, or aſſociate, will turn out to be a dutiful child, generous and kind to all his relations and old friends, charitable to all mankind, and merciful even to animals; the very beſt and moſt conſiderate of Landlords; a good paymaſter, if a tenant; never in arrears to working or trades people; averſe above all things to law ſuits, or diſputes of every kind; rather than enter into which, he would *turn the other cheek*; may be ſwindled, but never ſwindles; drinks the King's health, prays for him, his family, and the ſtate; pays pariſh rates without grumbling; and does in all things as he would others ſhould do unto him. Such are a great majority of the Aſiatic gentlemen, whom I diſtinguiſh by the appellation of *reputed* Nabobs. And I appeal to the experience of every candid man in this kingdom, who has had tranſactions of any kind with them, for the truth of what I ſay. A deſperate ſpendthrift, or a wretched miſer, were characters ſo very uncommon, that I declare moſt ſolemnly, that in a reſidence in India of more than twenty years, prior to 1774, I never knew above two or three of either, and they were ſo univerſally neglected and deſpiſed, that their names were always mentioned with the utmoſt degree of contempt. Hoſpitality being always found where the due medium between thoſe extremes prevails, the Aſiatic gentlemen have been deemed hoſpitable even to a proverb.

It may appear that I express myself somewhat warmly on this part of my subject, and I own that I feel so. I spent the best part of my life in that agreeable society, and on my soul I declare, that I never knew a European character completely vicious, that did not come to that country turned of twenty-five years of age; and few of those who arrived amongst us when they were past forty, that did not appear to us (who left England young) to be monsters in meanness, avarice, or vice of one sort or other. The famous Mr. Bolts was ruined by the earthquake at Lisbon, and came to Bengal a full grown mercantile monster, aged twenty-five. Major Baggs found his way to Calcutta noboby can tell how; and though a cousin of his (Mr. Philip Francis) held a very high and important station in the Company's service at that Presidency, so averse was every denomination of men, from entering into any degree of intimacy with such *high famed* adventurers, that he marched back as he came, and has been abusing the Indians ever since his return, which they consider as the highest panegyric from such a man.

I THINK that I can account for this superiority of character in a great majority of all those who have gone young to, and stayed long in India. Every body knows, that what I have related with respect to the selection of the young men from amongst creditable families, is true; and it is as true

true, that in general, boys of ſixteen, ſprung from ſuch families, are well inſtructed in the moral and religious duties. On their arrival in India, they are kindly and hoſpitably received; nor is there any example of fordid or mean vice before their eyes to corrupt their morals. Faſhionable cloaths, a good horſe to ride on, and a bed-maker, are, I am afraid, inevitable. To this the habit of ſmoaking a Hooka may be added, and their ſum total of vice is acknowledged. A drunken or gambling writer, (if per chance ſuch appeared,) nobody of credit would aſſociate with; and from neceſſity, they ſoon quitted thoſe degrading habits, which never fail to ruin thoſe with whom they long ſojourn.

When they turn their eyes on the natives around them, the practice of the moral and domeſtic virtues, in the higheſt degree of perfection, ſtrikes on their fancy. A people ſo mild, ſo docile, ſo obliging, and ſo complaiſant, both warm and charm a young and well trained mind. The more they know of them, the more they like them. The manners of a people muſt be alluring, who are known to venerate their parents almoſt to Idolatry; who never beat, and hardly ever chide, a child, male or female; who regard all animals as having been formed like themſelves, by the finger of God, whoſe life they have no more right to take away, or to put it to corporal pain wantonly, than that of a brother or ſiſter. A young man, well inſtructed

in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, before he leaves England, and paſſing his time from ſixteen to thirty, or perhaps forty years of age, in continual intercourſe with a people ſo famed for the practice of the great and ſmall morals, may, by chance, be a bad member of ſociety; but I ſhould not go amongſt a people ſo trained, to look for him. Bold aſſertions go for nothing on either ſide. Our enemies ſay, that we Indians are a proud, inſolent, and rapacious people; that we have, by our avarice, driven to diſtreſs, ruin, and death itſelf, millions of unhappy Indians. To ſuch daring, vague, and indefinite charges and aſſertions, I oppoſe the general tenor of conduct of the India gentlemen, who have returned to this kingdom within the laſt twenty years: If that will juſtify ſuch charges, any thing that I can ſay to the contrary, will not acquit them. But if, on an honeſt and fair ſcrutiny, men of candour ſhall own, that the India gentlemen in general, are generous, humane, and charitable, good ſubjects, dutiful children, fond huſbands, indulgent fathers, kind maſters, and hoſpitable neighbours, I would then aſk this ſimple queſtion, Is it likely that men, who went abroad ſo properly inſtructed, and who, after their return to England, have acted the part of ſuch excellent citizens for the remainder of their lives, could poſſibly, when abroad, have been guilty of cruelties, ſo infamous and diabolical, as have in general terms been laid to their charge? To the anſwer

that

that every man's heart ſhall give to the above queſtion, I leave the cauſe of my friends.

I HAVE obſerved, that ſince the year 1774, things have taken a wide turn; and that there have been another race of Nabobs ſprung up, whom I have called *muſhroom Nabobs*. It may be right to explain myſelf, and deſcribe them.

IT is a very old obſervation, that vice in great empires, is moſt prevalent in the capital, and that it decreaſes in proportion to the diſtance you move from it. Would to heaven that this obſervation had not ſo lately been verified with reſpect to England. The mother country was too depraved to hold the colonies longer in ſubjection. Governors ſent from hence, were by much too corrupt to govern a new, a virtuous, and growing people. Nor ſhall we hold our poſſeſſions in the eaſt long, after the preſent mode of training up young men, (from writers and cadets, to counſellors, and from the beſt of them, making our governors, and commanders in chief of the army,) ſhall be changed into that of ſending governors, counſellors, and commanders of the army, from hence. The experiment has already been tried in more inſtances than one, and ſtands a proof of what I ſay. But our empire is on the decline. We are a viſcious, corrupt, and debaſed people. Intereſt and party governs every thing. Experience is of no uſe; and

the beſt admonition or advice, is but thrown away. Rome, in the latter days of the Republic, was convulſed almoſt to civil war, on the annual appointment of the executive officers; and they, when that year of tumult was out, were indulged in another, to ranſack the provinces, in order to reimburſe themſelves their election expences. What did not the poor people ſuffer from the rapacity of conſuls, pro-conſuls, their ſecretaries, ſub-ſecretaries, and all their train of greedy officers, who, knowing their time was ſhort, ſpared nothing! Our Miniſtry have ſent one precious batch of full grown and hungry ſtateſmen, already to India; and nothing but the ſquabble amongſt themſelves, for the home made bread and butter, has hitherto prevented their ſending another. Annual ſets, as at Rome, they can never ſend; but triennial will do the buſineſs full as well. An hungry Lord, or an hungry Baronet, like a Scotch creeper, bites ſore. How would our Stateſmen laugh at me, if I was to addreſs the King (God bleſs him) to accept the following arrangement for his Miniſtry, to conduct the government of this country under him!

Mahommed Reza Cawn, Prime Miniſter;
Caunto Babo, Chancellor of the Exchequer;
Nobb Kiſſen, Secretary of State;
Coſſonaut Babo, Ditto Northern Department;
Typoo Saib, Commander in Chief;
Call Roy Naut, Firſt Lord of of the Admiralty;

Ram

Ram Cunt Roy, Archbiſhop of Canterbury;
Ram Cunt Veucra, Lord Chancellor;
Juggut Seat, Paymaſter of the Forces;
And ſo down to a Groom of the Stole.

I ſay that our Stateſmen would laugh at me, if I were to propoſe ſuch a plan. I wiſh I could have laughed at them, when they ſent an arrangement equally ridiculous to govern Bengal. General Clavering was not by half ſo good an officer as Typoo Saib, nor Colonel Monſon half ſo wiſe as Nobb Kiſſen—Though Philip Francis may have been as great a knave as Juggut Seat.—What is that to the purpoſe? Scoundrels are plenty as rats in all countries; there is no lack of them.—But this I am ſure of, my liſt of miniſters would be as capable of conducting the affairs of this government, by the help of the underſtrappers in the public offices, as the others were to do the ſame duty at Bengal. If our provinces abroad, are to become ſinecures, for the love of goodneſs, let the officers who are to tug the labouring oar, be educated in ſome ſuch manner as the Company's ſervants *are now* from their childhood up—And then any perſon may go out, merely to receive the reward of their ſecret ſervices at home.

Scheming I find is catching. I have another ſtarted up in my mind; and with as much truth as ever Mr. Edmund Burke poſſeſſed, I declare, that

that I offer it to the public dog cheap, if not *under prime coſt*, as a ſcheme of economy: at the ſame time I pledge myſelf, with as ſolemn a look, and as grave a face, as the orator is wont to do, that neither myſelf, my brother, my ſon, *nor my couſin*, will benefit ſixpence from it. If the miniſtry will make me paymaſter of the forces at Bengal, or give me a penſion, for my plan, well and good; and I can aſſure them that I want it, as much as any patriot in or out of their train. It may alſo lead to a *coalition*; for money is a great cleanſer of the optic nerves; and ſo weak is poor human nature, that I am afraid the certainty of *four* thouſand pounds a year, would induce me to burn my book, and change my principles. There are high precedents enough; and lawyers ſay, that is ſufficient to warrant any meaſure.

It appears to me, that the Miniſtry are in great want of patronage to feed the craving crowd, and that there is little or none left but in the eaſt; at the ſame time the Proprietors of India Stock, have a confidence in their preſent ſet of ſervants. Now if my plan ſhould ſuit the conveniency of, and ſatisfy both parties, I hope to come in at leaſt for a ſop in the pan. The Governor of Bengal, has a ſalary of 25,000*l.* per annum; the Commander in Chief 6000*l.* and 10,000*l.* more, as ſecond in Council; each of the other three Council General have 10,000*l.* per annum; all this comes to 71,000*l.* per annum. But as their train of followers

are

are generally as hungry a set of curs as their masters, I will add the other 25,000*l.* per annum for their use. Both sums make up what the citizens call an annual plum. If the Ministry will be content with this sum, until the end of the Company's present grant of the monopoly, which is, I think, to run until 1790, the Expence to the Company will be 700,000*l.* and as this must above all things be paid regularly, the Lion of the day will come in for his share; for no man in power should dispose of it for a greater length of time than the present year. I say, if this should be accepted by the patriots of the hour, and [illegible] no cause for their refusing so reasonable a proposal, the Company, no doubt, will come into it; because it would secure to them a set of servants whom they like; prevent ignorant men from being sent to confound, perplex, and ruin their affairs; and put an end to the eternal scuffle amongst the *ins* and *outs*, about who should send *good men* to Asia to retrieve their affairs; and what is best of all, it would ascertain their expences, which, in the other mode never can be known.

If the reader should be displeased with the above digression, the best excuse I can offer is, that some how or other, Mr. Edmund Burke came across my imagination; and there is no such thing as separating the associate ideas of that great statesman and patriotic plans of economy.

In

In 1773, Governor General Haſtings, by the treaty of Benares, added largely to the revenues of the Company, inſomuch, that the groſs receipts of revenue which paſſed through the hands of Engliſhmen, in the Bengal provinces, and the territories of our allies, amounted to upwards of four millions ſterling annually; a ſum far ſuperior to the vaſt expences of our national peace eſtabliſhment. Where ſuch a revenue is permanently fixed, and regularly collected, many perſons will find lucrative employments. How many voces in the Houſe of Commons, would not the direction of ſuch a revenue, procure a Miniſter in this country? How many patriots would loll in their chariots, from ſalary, ſinecure, emolument of place, and perquiſite of office?

General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr. Philip Francis, did not bring many greedy followers with them: the reaſon was this; the Eaſt India Company reprobated the meaſure of ſending out the principals themſelves, in the ſtrongeſt terms, and of courſe took all the care they could, that as few greedy dependents ſhould go with them as poſſible. Some did get out, as well with them, as with the Judges of the Supreme Court; and from theſe few favourites, ſprung up the firſt of our muſhroom Nabobs. Innovation from this moment took place of that regular ſucceſſion, which, in the Company's ſervice, had hitherto maintained order

order and diſcipline. The Miniſtry had, by the Act of the Thirteenth of the King's reign, to regulate India affairs, ſnatched the great patronage at Bengal, out of the hands of the Court of Directors; and they, in their turns, wreſted out of the hands of their ſervants abroad, a portion of theirs. This ſcuffle between the Miniſtry of the Crown, and the Miniſtry of the Company, introduced many pernicious innovations into the ſervice. By the ſame Act, the conſtitution of the Company was effectually changed, from a democracy to an ariſtocracy, or rather an oligarchy. Inſtead of twenty-four Directors being elected annually, by the Proprietors at large, ſix only were elected for four years. The number of Proprietors were reduced one half, by raiſing the ſum neceſſary for a qualification to vote, from 500*l.* to a 1000*l.* ſtock; and the annual houſe liſt, with which the Miniſtry had formerly no concern, became now intirely at their diſpoſal. The Directors voted in for four years, like our Members of Parliament for ſeven, ſoon forgot, or deſpiſed, their conſtituents, and turned their minds to the ſecuring a return in the Direction, when their rotation year ſhould be out, by the moſt ſervile obedience to miniſterial mandates.

The nomination to writerſhips in the Company's ſervice, was claimed, and privately enforced, from the weſt end of the town. The Directors, afraid to deny, and unwilling to loſe their own lucrative commerce

commerce that way, the number of annual appointments was increaſed, and the civil liſt expences abroad, immenſely overloaded. It was the ſame with appointments of military officers, even down to cadets; and the Company's military liſt of officers of all ranks, in leſs than three years, were more than doubled.

If there was a Member of Parliament, nay even a leading officer in a miniſterial borough, who had a brother, ſon, or nephew, whoſe extravagance and vices made it impoſſible for them to ſtay at home, the Eaſt India Company muſt take him off the Miniſter's hands. As their power and patronage died away in the weſt, their claims on the Company increaſed, until the whole filthy offal of a luxurious and depraved nation, including ſome renegado American loyaliſts, came to be exported like felons to the Eaſt Indies. Innovation, where it once enters, ſpreads its infection like a plague. The Directors, ſtripped of their official patronage by the Miniſtry, peremptorily ſeized that of their reſponſible ſervants abroad. At the ſame time the new Majority at Bengal, looked over the Directors heads, to watch the ſmiles of Miniſters, by whom they had been created, and were promiſed to be ſupported. Crowds of hungry adventurers found their way to Aſia, unknown and unconnected with the Company, and brought with them orders, commonly called recommendations, running in this ſtrain:

"Sir,

" Sir,

" The bearer is a near relation, or particular " friend, of my Lord Tripplevote. He muſt be " ſerved. A contract will do. The man is mode- " rate in his deſires. Thirty thouſand pounds, in " three or four years, is all he wiſhes.

" Yours, &c.

" N. B. His Uncle commands four Votes at " St. Stephen's."

In the midſt of the war, and from the total loſs of America, ſcores of theſe worthy characters obtained ſuch kind of recommendatory orders; and to every man's reflection I ſhall leave it, to inform him how this number will be increaſed by a peace.

WELL may the Company complain of diſtreſs and embarraſſment in their circumſtances and affairs. If war has not deſtroyed them, peace will. Let any man attend at the Eaſt India Houſe, when their annual ſhips are preparing to ſail, and obſerve the crowds of ſpendthrifts, ſharpers, and ſwindlers of all ſorts, who are attending with recommendations to the Directors for appointments, or even for orders, to go out to India. The reaſon privately aſſigned, is, they muſt be ſent out, or they will moſt certainly bring diſgrace on a worthy family, by

by meeting their deſerts in being hanged at home. The avenues to the India Houſe, are perfectly barricadoed and blocked up, by bumbailiffs, catchpoles, tipſtaves, and ſheriffs officers, and their dark viſaged followers, watching for their prey, inſomuch, that ſtrangers and foreigners, have often, in paſſing by on court days, miſtaken the Eaſt India Houſe, for a general lock-up houſe for all the knaves and ſwindlers in the nation.

From this worthy race of emigrants, are ſelected the *muſhroom Nabobs*; and ſo numerous have that tribe of late become, that I now take this opportunity to warn our merchants and tradeſmen, againſt truſting of them. With all their vices, every body allows that the Eaſt Indians are good paymaſters; and I ſhall prove, that the *reputed* Nabobs really are ſo; but under that deſcription, a ſwindler, who has been in the Eaſt Indies but for a year, may return a well inſtructed *muſhroom* Nabob, and ruin thouſands; and moſt earneſtly I intreat our honeſt merchants and ſhop-keepers, not to give credit to men, merely becauſe they have ſerved in India, before they have enquired properly, whether the perſon is a *reputed* or *muſhroom* Nabob.

Since I have been in England, I have had various opportunities of obſerving an inconſiſtency in the opinions and conduct of very worthy people. In country families, an idea univerſally prevails, that

that the East India gentlemen had made their fortunes abroad, by the moſt cruel and rapacious acts of barbarity to the poor natives; and this their opinion, ſo very injurious to the great bulk of Aſiatic gentlemen, had almoſt induced me to have given a liſt of every man who had ſerved the Company at Bengal, from the year 1750, to the year 1780; and to have ſet oppoſite to their names, in columns, the time they had ſerved, the means they had of obtaining an honeſt independence, and the reputed fortunes with which they left India; with ſome anecdotes of their real characters, &c. As an old Indian, I have a very ſtrong deſire of ſeparating the wheat from the chaff, and ſetting my countrymen right in their opinions of the real characters of the gentlemen who have ſerved in Aſia. At preſent, I am not fully determined, and therefore ſhall go on to obſerve, that if the Engliſh country gentlemen and their families, continue in their bad opinion of the gentlemen who have ſerved in Aſia, they will do well to lay by that ſtrong deſire, which prevails in every one of them, to have a ſon or two, and perhaps a daughter, ſent out to India. For if when things were conducted in the manner I have deſcribed them to have been, prior to 1774, the morals of the young men (as they would inſinuate) could not be preſerved from being corrupted and deſtroyed, what chance will they ſtand now, when half the worthleſs ſcoundrels in the kingdom, are likely to be ſent out there, to prevent their being

hanged

hanged at home? But, says a fond mother, my boy has had such excellent principles instilled into him, and so much care has been taken of his education, that no bad example will corrupt his morals; and so say all mothers and fathers too; it is our general propensity. Nay, I believe it is in our very nature to hope the best from the conduct of our own children, in the same circumstances that we should predict the worst to happen to those of our neighbours. One thing I would recommend to their notice, and that is, that whereas the parents of the present *reputed* Nabobs, had as good an opinion of their children, as the fathers and mothers of the rising generations, can possibly have of theirs; therefore prudence ought to dictate, though charity shall be quite dumb: That in order to avoid the effects of the *lex talionis*, by the contemporaries of their children, believing and reporting every idle tale which may be invented and circulated to their prejudice, they should themselves avoid believing and propagating the lies of the day, against their own contemporaries who have served in India.

THERE are a few facts, to which I beg to draw the attention of all parents, who are aiming to have their sons sent out to India. Since the æra of mushroom Nabobs, some too or three dozen of that race have returned to England, and figured away with all the folly and absurdity of their great prototypes, the spurious ones, as far as their hastily acquired riches

riches have extended, and are much oftener miſtaken for *reputed* Nabobs, than their worthy ſuperiors. Since the importation of this claſs, it has been generally reported, and as credulouſly believed, that a young man going out a writer in the Eaſt India Company's ſervice, provided that he was ſober, induſtrious, and careful, might be enabled, from the advantages of his rank and ſituation, to return in eight, ten, or twelve years at the very moſt, with what the world *now* allows to be a decent independency, forty or fifty thouſand pounds; and thus do fond parents delude themſelves into the hope, that the young *Nabob* abroad, will return home in time, and with fortune ſufficient to help to provide for his younger brothers and ſiſters. The laſt part of the hope I would not diſcourage; for Indians bred are generous on principle, honour their parents, and love their relations; but the time in which the fortune is to be made, is, I fear, much too limited; and for the following reaſons.

The preſent Governor of Bombay, William Hornby, Eſq. has been forty-two years in the Company's ſervice at that Preſidency; ſome of his Council above thirty years; and all the others more than twenty five; and what will ſurpriſe much more, the firſt twenty-five ſervants next below the Council, have been each of them more than twenty years in the ſervice at Bombay.

At Madraſs, the preſent Governor, Lord Macartney, is out of the queſtion. Whatever his Lordſhip's abilities may be, his introduction into that ſervice, in bar to the right of ſo many old ſervants of the Company, was a cruel ſtretch of miniſterial power: for all the members of his Council, have ſerved the Company twenty years; and the firſt thirty ſervants immediately on the liſt, next to the Council, have ſerved at the ſame Preſidency, from fifteen to twenty years.

At Bengal, people would imagine, that, conſidering the maſſacres of the Black Hole and Patna, the fortune of war, and the rapid deſtruction which is ſometimes made from the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, and ſudden acquiſition of fortune moving others out of the way, that the preſent ſet of miniſtering and reſponſible ſervants, muſt be of ſhort ſtanding. However, the fact is juſt the reverſe; for the Governor General has been thirty-three years in the Company's ſervice. His Council indeed are new men; who, like the nine of diamonds, and knave of clubs, at brag, I call makers of *muſhroom Nabobs*. They have been forced on the Company by miniſterial influence, as Lord Macartney was: but the twelve Members of the Board of Trade, have ſerved the Company at that Preſidency, from twenty to thirty years; and the thirty ſervants next in rank to the Board of Trade, have been in the ſervice from ſixteen to twenty years.

THE same may be said of the Company's fourth Presidency, Fort Marlborough or Bencoolen, and of their Supercargoes at the China Factory. The above detail of absolute facts, I take to be the best mode of refutation which I could give, to innumerable ungenerous assertions, which, for the last seven years, have been imposed on the public, relative to the rapid fortunes said to have been acquired by the gentlemen who have served, and are now serving, the East India Company in Asia.

I CANNOT conclude my observations on the different degrees and orders of Nabobs, without paying some small attention to the King of the mushroom tribe. Philip Francis, Esq. merits every personal attention from me, that it can possibly be in my power to pay him. This gentleman went out of his way to do me a great injury. He invented a most impudent falshood against me, and caused it to be entered on the face of the East India Company's records, where it now remains uncancelled. I have called upon him to support his assertions with proof, or candidly to recall them. He will do neither. I have, therefore, a right to address myself to him in the most pointed manner: for I own that it does not satisfy me, that he has been guilty of the same base and mean conduct towards my betters. This gentleman was a clerk in one of the public offices, and in passing accounts, became useful to the great contractor Calcraft, (a genuine

German *army* Nabob, if the making an immenſe fortune, nobody can tell how, implies one.) He was brought forward as a proper aſſiſtant, to be joined with General Clavering and Col. Monſon, as a Bengal Counſellor. He ſubmitted, as other men of his ſtamp often do, to bear a rider; that is, to have ſome other miniſterial tool ſaddled on him, for one fourth of his ſalary during his ſtay abroad. When he left England, the Eaſt India Company ſupplied him with money to pay his debts, which money he had to repay in India. His vanity was ſo prevalent, and his meanneſs ſo great, that he fell into contempt with every honeſt man in the ſettlement. Some few informers and ſycophants, were the only perſons that would keep him company. One of them, though in the Company's ſervice, ſtooped to become his *pimp*. They were both caught in the houſe of a married man, on a concerted plan of debauching his wife. The gentleman's ſervants ſecured Mr. Francis to a chair, with intent to keep him until their maſter ſhould come home; but he *bellowed* and *roared* out in ſuch a daſtardly manner, that the neighbouring gentlemen came to his relief, and in conſideration of his rank and ſtation in the ſettlement, releaſed him. For this gentleman-like action, he was ſued in the Supreme Court, and caſt in 5000*l.* damages, with coſts of ſuit. He was mean beyond all deſcription in his conduct, inſomuch, that he firſt invited people to live with him, and then charged them

them with their proportion of houſekeeping. In ſhort, he was held in ſuch general contempt, that it would appear inviduous even in me, who have been ſo baſely uſed by him, to relate the well atteſted anecdotes of his conſummate meanneſs. But his rank obliged him to live in a ſtile which, in a country like that of Bengal, conſumed great part of his oſtenſible income: The payment of the *rider's* allowance, and the ſupport of a very numerous family in this country, muſt have conſumed the remainder. If then this man has money, he beſt knows how he came by it, nor will any body envy him the poſſeſſion. He uſed to ſtile himſelf *the fifth part of a King*: I have done more for him, and placed him at the head of the *upſtart*, or *muſhroom Nabobs*. Heaven knows that race has multiplied prodigiouſly, inſomuch, that they have nearly deſtroyed all diſtinction of Aſiatic character, and for that reaſon, amongſt others, I have been induced to claſs them; and leaſt the reader ſhould not recollect them, I will recapitulate the ſeveral degrees, and their preſent heads, or Preſidents.

Lord Clive, of immortal memory, was the firſt, and only genuine and true Nabob.

General Richard Smith, Chairman and Preſident of the *ſpurious* claſs of Nabobs. Theſe (thank God) for the honour of our country, and of the human race, are not numerous; but they make up

in bulk, impudence, and weight of metal, what they want in numbers.

The *reputed* Nabobs are the moſt numerous body; and now that the nation in every part, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland included, have had full time to be convinced of the general and true ſtamp of character, which this claſs of gentlemen deſerve in ſociety, I boldly refer to their experience of them for the deciſion. Should our preſent violent paſſion for innovation continue, and Engliſhmen determine, that as the empire becomes leſs, we want more members to repreſent us in Parliament, amongſt other claſſes of men, I ſee not why the *reputed* Nabobs ſhould not have two members to repreſent them: In that caſe, I propoſe Governor John Cartier, Eſq. of Bedgebury, in Kent, for the civilians, and General Joe Smith, Eſq. of Bath, for the military order.

As to the upſtart tribe, or claſs of *muſhroom* Nabobs, they have a *king* already, in Mr. Philip Francis, like their honeſt predatory brethren, the *gipſies*; nor do I know a more worthy member. Mr. C. Goring (the evidence whom even Mr. Burke bluſhed for) would not, I ſuppoſe, conteſt it with him. However, as much may be ſaid on both ſides, I ſhall not decide the matter, but leave it to the upſtart tribe to determine, whether Mr. Francis or Mr. Goring ſhall be their repreſentative.

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As Lord Clive ſtands ſingle and alone, as a genuine Nabob, at the head of this liſt, ſo Governor General Haſtings, equally unſupported, brings up the rear as a *ſimple Nabob*. However, as this laſt gentleman is ſtill abroad, I am in hopes that means will be uſed, to check and controul his benevolent diſpoſition in ſuch a manner, as that ſo much may be ſaved out of his ample ſalary, as will enable him to bring home ſufficient to live decently on, without danger of becoming chargeable to the pariſh. This gentleman ought to be held up as an example *in terrorem*, to all future Governors in India, to induce them, in time, to take care, and chooſe the other ſide of the alternative, ſubmitted to their option by the good people of this country, viz. to get money, and ſo be called *knaves*, or to come home poor, and be deemed *fools*.

If I was not an enemy to egotiſm, I ſhould find a rank for myſelf; for my caſe is curious and ſingular, conſidering that I was thirty years in India, and now write this in a one eyed garret, ſixty ſteps from the ground, and the ladder taken away. The experience I had in ſo long a courſe of time, viz. from 1750 to 1780, induces me to think that I could give ſome good advice; but then I am checked again, from reflecting, that advice in its nature, is like tar water, which many recommend, but nobody will take. However, I will venture at one ſimple doſe, which, whether taken or not, will do no harm, ſhould it do no good.

SERIOUSLY

SERIOUSLY and poſitively, it is my opinion, that in order to govern ſuch parts of the Eaſt Indies as we may retain, properly, and to make it truly uſeful to this country, the men who are intended to govern it, both civil and military, ſhould be trained up from early youth in that country, as was the caſe formerly. Had our governors in the weſt, been all Americans born, and Governor General Haſtings not been interrupted in the manner that he was, by the ſending out of the obſtinate and vindictive General Clavering, the impatient and ſarcaſtic Colonel Monſon, and the artful and ſelf-intereſted Philip Francis, to diſturb and thwart all his meaſures in the manner that they did, for years together, our empire would not have been diſmantled in the weſt, nor our power in the eaſt, ſhaken to its foundation, as it has been, in conſequence of the furious diviſions in the General Council at Bengal.

I FEAR that the full grown ſtateſmen of this Iſland, are now too much corrupted, to be truſted, with ſafety, in the government of our foreign poſſeſſions. One of my reaſons for making the above aſſertion, is this: General Clavering, at the time he left England, was reckoned to be as honeſt a man as any in it; but it was one of his maxims, and he often declared it, never to truſt any man in public office, with the care, or diſpoſal, of public property; for that all the men whom he had ever known

known in office, were moſt abominably corrupt, without a ſingle exception. Were ſuch ſentiments proper for a man to poſſeſs, who was intended to have ruled over ten millions of people? I think not: And I am convinced, that had General John Clavering lived to have come to the government of Bengal, his reign would have exhibited ſcenes of the moſt ſuſpicious and brutal tyranny. Had Mr. Philip Francis come to the government, he would have gone to the other extreme; for his maxim was that of 'Live and let live.' How it ſhould have entered into the heads of our Miniſters, that a mercantile kingdom can beſt be managed by a military head, is to me aſtoniſhing; all experience, all hiſtory, cries aloud againſt the political abſurdity. General Elliot mounted from Calpe into the regions of fame; yet at Bengal, with nothing but military ideas in his head, he might have been impoſed on, deceived, and betrayed, by the moſt worthleſs and contemptible of the human race, as General Clavering moſt certainly was. About a year before the General died, Colonel Monſon had fallen a prey to vexation, aſſiſted by the unhealthineſs of the climate. This circumſtance giving back the majority, and of courſe the government, into the hands of Mr. Haſtings, the General had time to cool and reflect. He ſaw the million crowd to the Governor General's levee, whilſt his own was left almoſt deſolate: nor was a man to be ſeen about him, but a few deſperate informers; ſuch as La-

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cam, Goring, Wadſworth, and two or three more of the ſame ſtamp: whilſt the only men not changed in their attention and behaviour towards him, was the Governor General, and his friend Counſellor Barwell. But his haughty ſpirit could not ſtoop to own that he had been deceived. Diſappointment had ſoured his mind, and tore to pieces his conſtitution. He broke out in boils all over his body, and in the ſearching and trying month of Auguſt, fell a ſacrifice to violence, obſtinacy, and miſinformation, leaving in legacy to his friend Mr. Francis, his enmity to Governor General Haſtings, whom he could not forgive, becauſe he had moſt cruelly injured. Peace be to his manes! I hope that our rulers will think how much has been loſt in ſo ſhort a time, and benefit a little by experience. If Governor General Haſtings has been guilty of any act of delinquency, at leaſt give him a fair trial, and not drag him away with diſhonour from a ſtation, which he has ſo long and ably filled, merely becauſe an orator by trade, and his *honourable friend*, as he calls him, the Preſident of the College of *ſpurious* Nabobs, will be gratified by his removal.

No doubt but that there is ſomething ungenerous in national reflections, and I well remember, that my impatience under the appellation of *Taffey*, coſt me, in my younger days, many a bloody noſe: however, an Aſiatic ſun has evaporated moſt of

thoſe

those inflammable humours. But some how or other, I feel hurt at the seeming indifference of almost the whole English Senate, as to our concerns in Asia, whilst a Scotch Lawyer, and an Irish Patriot, affect to be so much agitated, and apparently concerned, for consequences in that quarter of the empire. To convince us of their disinterestedness in this business, I think Mr. Burke would do well to recall *his cousin, Mr. William Burke*, from the court of a Prince, where he can have no possible right to be, but with permission of the East India Company, during the term of their charter. The story of Mr. Edmund Burke, having about two years ago, applied to, and obtained from Lord North, letters of credence for his cousin's introduction to the Tanjorean Rajah, appears almost impossible.—And I could wish that the Lord Advocate would give some better proof of his disinterestedness in the affair, than that of taking so much pains to push forward a countryman and friend of his.

Natural philosophers say, that there is in every particle of matter of which this world is composed, some small portion of that active element, fire; and I believe that in all bodies politic, compose them how you will, there must exist some particles of tyranny. In order to investigate an intricate affair fully and properly, Committees are formed for the purpose. When their reports are made to

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the body from whom they were detached, credit, no doubt, ſhould be given to the ſentiments of a majority of the Committee; but ſurely the ſuperiority of obtaining information on all the circumſtances, does not imply that their judgements thereon, are infallible; in particular, if it ſhall be obſerved, that the minds of the Chairman, and other leading members of the Committees, have been by any means warped to the prejudice of individuals, whoſe conduct they have had in charge to examine. It is the opinion of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, that "*our natural diſpoſition leads* "*all our enquiries rather to perſons than to things.*" He has himſelf proved the aſſertion to be true, in labouring through more than half a dozen voluminous reports at the Select Committee, without having been able for a moment, to tear himſelf from the purſuit of perſonal invective, ſo as to purſue the true line of public duty. What have the Houſe heard or learned from him, and his honourable friend the General, but elaborate commendations of each others abilities, (nauſeous beyond all parallel,) and violent Philippics againſt Governor General Haſtings, and others, whom the honourable Chairman conſiders to be his private enemies? Notwithſtanding this, how does the honourable gentleman take fire, when charged with a fact which nobody denies; that of reſtoring men to office diſmiſſed by his predeceſſors, without aſſigning any reaſon. After this, is he the man who ſhall

throw

throw the firſt ſtone at a character ſuch as that of Governor Haſtings, whilſt he is out of all poſſibility of anſwering for himſelf?

In 1772 and 1773, the invectives of the Committee's managers were more general. General Burgoyne, one of the Chairmen, declared, that the Indians in a lump, were rotten to the very core. Such general expreſſions ſuited well with the then deſigns of the Miniſtry: They were aiming at the whole patronage of Aſia; and therefore, to damn the Company and their ſervants in a body, were the orders given out by the managing party, to their mouth-piece, Burgoyne. Poor man! how has he ſince had cauſe to deplore the influence of the very men, whoſe dirty jobs he undertook to forward and direct! How ſorely has he felt the ſhafts of calumny, ſhot off by miniſterial tools, againſt his own conduct in America! In ſuffering his impetuoſity, and to great contempt of his enemy, (a great fault in a General,) to hurry him into that peculiar ſituation, where to advance, or to retreat, was equally impoſſible; where to fight, was to commit murder; and where to ſurrender a large, well armed, well diſciplined army, to a mere booriſh militia, with ſtaves and pitchforks,—was no diſgrace. The rotten Indians, as he called us, in compliance to the will of his maſters, have pitied his misfortunes, and blamed the men who refuſed him a hearing in ſelf defence.

How

How pointed and direct were the queries put by the Committee of 1772, to the Chairman of the Select Committee of 1782!—"Had you any con-"cern in the mint? In what rupees did you pay "the King his tribute?"—The anſwers that were given to ſuch clear and ſimple queries, would have done honour to the firſt born ſon of Loyola; and marked General Smith in a particular manner, for an honourable friend to the Right Honourable Mr. Edmund Burke. For ten years afterwards, we find him placed in the ſame chair, directing a Committee, in purſuit of the ſame game, aided and aſſiſted by the very right honourable gentleman, who, in the moſt pointed and direct terms, in his Obſervations on a late State of the Nation, above referred to, condemned the whole conduct of the former Committees; *who*, ſevere as they were, reported, in general terms, the evidence they had received, without ſtooping to proſcribe individuals.

THE ſudden revolutions in human affairs, are ſubject matter for obſervation to all orders of ſociety. Churchmen lament, and call them puniſhments inflicted by Heaven, on wilful ſinners. Philoſophers regard them as marks held out by Providence, to ſignify the vanity of all worldly poſſeſſions. Politicians watch their criſis, and turn them to their own advantage. Bar-

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bers boys relate them in an attractive tone of voice, to draw off the attention of their cuſtomers, from the piercing effluvia of filthy ſuds, and tortture of bad razors. Even I have been amuſed by them; and with none more than the particular conduct of particular Committees of the Houſe of Commons, at different periods, on the ſame ſubject.

I HAD always conſidered a cenſure of the Houſe of Commons of England, as a very ſerious thing; inſomuch, that a man who ſhould be ſo unhappy as to have been ſo cenſured by the repreſentatives of the people, in Parliament aſſembled, would be in much ſuch a ſituation, as a perſon in the days of Henry II. when he had been excommunicated by the church; but I find that I have been miſtaken; it operates rather as a letter of recommendation in his favour. The truth is, the juggling tricks of the church, were ſo often applied to ſerve factious purpoſes, and that ſo often repeated, to the injury and ruin of individuals, that it came at laſt to be deſpiſed—And the credit of certain aſſemblies, by purſuing ſimilar meaſures, may come to ſhare the ſame fate.

THE threat of General Richard Smith, when his conduct in Leadenhall-Street, induced the Proprietors of Eaſt India Stock, to ſcout him out of the Houſe, of complaining of them at another

place,

place, has been carried into execution; but to what effect? The vote to recall Governor Haſtings, which was abetted by a ſmall majority of the Directors, a Court of Proprietors, in a majority of ſeven to one, obliged them to reſcind: And the premature introduction of the ſeventh report of the Select Committee, with the view to keep Mr. Sulivan and Sir William James, out of the Direction, operated more than any other cauſe, to the ſecuring of their election. How terrible is it to ſee the credit of ſuch a body degraded to ſo vile a uſe, and their ſenatorial dignity debaſed, by an interference with the factions of Leadenhall-Street.

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Governor General Haſtings having been in the Eaſt India Company's ſervice thirty-three years, and Governor General of Bengal, by appointment of the legiſlative powers of this country, nine years, and the powers given to him by the ſtate at firſt, having been three times renewed by as many ſeveral Acts of Parliament, it is not wonderful that he ſhould have very numerous enemies. For it is a remark, not much to the credit of human nature, I muſt own, that the friends made by a man in high ſtation, are apt to wear out whilſt they expect his removal; on the reverſe, his enemies endure for ever. This obſervation, if true, and I fear that it is but too much ſo, added to the numbers who are gaping for ſomething which the removal

of

of ſuch a man would ſupply, will account for many of them. But I ſhould imagine that a man's enemies, created by the above two cauſes, though numerous and powerful, would not become ſo very active and perſevering, as for the laſt nine years, thoſe of Governor Haſtings have ſhewn themſelves. Indeed, I am convinced, that except they had been joined by another ſort of enemy, much more vindictive and perſevering than the other two ſorts, they never would have given him and his friends, ſo much trouble to expoſe and cruſh them, as they have now almoſt done, by weight of argument, of truth, and of juſtice. This laſt order of enemies to the Governor General, have grown out of a very ſingular circumſtance, neither more nor leſs than this, that Mr. Haſtings ſtudied his politics in Aſia, and not in Europe. In order to explain fully and clearly, the truth of the above aſſertion, to my readers, they muſt indulge me in a little digreſſion. I will not wander long, nor quit the main object but for a moment, and, as uſual, confine the inſtances in proof of my premiſes, to very few.

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Perhaps there is not a man in the world, ſo well verſed in human affairs as Mr. Haſtings, whoſe manners and habits of life, converſation, addreſs, and amuſements, are ſo ſimple, ſo plain, ſo void of art, vanity, oſtentation, and pride. This ſimplicity in all his actions, is ſo notorious,

to that

that two great travellers of *high fame*, Major Baggs, and Mr. William Mackintoſh, the author of Travels in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, (both of whom found their way to India, nobody there could tell how,) conceived him at firſt to be a fool, and have ſince conſtantly repreſented him to be a knave—For the ſame reaſon that the French dancing-maſter ſaw nothing great in the Earl of Oxford—For Mr. Haſtings could neither gamble nor lie.—How then can a man be a good Governor without ſuch qualifications, any more than a Lord a good Miniſter, who could never be made to dance a minuet? Mr. Hart was unknown in the Queen's time, who has ſince made ſo excellent a minuet dancer of General Dick Smith; and even he never ventured to ſport one at Court; though he often made himſelf the ridicule of every boy in Calcutta, by his attempts that way. In oratory, Mr. Burke's leſſons have equally failed him; and I much fear, that his patriotiſm will ſhortly ſink into equal contempt.

East India affairs, like all other human affairs, are in continual rotation. Some years after Mr. Haſtings had been Governor of Bengal, the Miniſters ſet the Company to whirl round on Ariſtocratic pins. It was his duty, it was his habit, to correſpond with the Directors of the Company's affairs in a body. He knew them not, nor ſought he to know them, as individuals. Whoever might whirl

whirl in, or whirl out, was nothing to him. The Company was always the ſame; and his publie ſentiments were addreſſed to the whole body of twenty-four, as his private or political ones, to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman for the time being, as ever has been the cuſtom of the ſervice, without even enquiring who the identical Chairman, or his Deputy, were. As a body, they were his maſters; as individuals, he felt himſelf their ſuperior. The duties of his ſtation he underſtood, and purſued with ſpirit and diligence; nor had time, or intention, to pay court to a ſet of men, whom he neither knew, nor wiſhed to know, in any other point of view, than as the Directors of a great national Company, whoſe firſt miniſterial ſervant abroad, he himſelf was.

On ſuch noble, honeſt, and diſintereſted principles, the Governor General performed his duty. But this neglect of little and low perſonal politics, gave offence to ſome *flies on the wheel* in Leadenhall-Street. They could not brook that the Governor General of Bengal, ſhould not appear to feel their conſequence, as much as an under clerk at the India Houſe, and pay court accordingly; and to this neglect, he owes the rancour and oppotion of a party in the Direction.

The ſame kind of inattention, loſt him the good opinion of a Right Honourable Orator. When

Mr. William Burke firſt found his way into the Carnatic, (though I can conſider him in no other point of view, than a muſhroom Nabob adventurer, ſuch as his great couſin firſt appeared in this country, when picked up by the Marquis of Rockingham,) had Governor Haſtings ſent for him to Bengal, and addreſſed him in manner following, (as he moſt certainly would have done, had he been educated at St. Stephen's.)—"Welcome to Bengal, Sir.—Very glad to ſee you, Sir.—Your name, Sir, Burke, if I miſtake not.—Couſin to the great Stateſman, as I have heard.—Great man! O very great man!—Sublime and beautiful! Wonderful performance! Prodigious work!—Your Couſin was well I hope, Sir, when you heard from him laſt.—Buſy, no doubt; earneſt to ſave the ſtate. Great man!—I have read his conciliatory plan. Heavenly thought! What a pity not attended to! But when will Britain's friends have ſway!—I have all his ſpeeches, all his political tracts, regularly ſent me; have drawn much information from them in my government of Aſia.—Prodigious genius!—But that great man ſtooping to write pamphlets, is, methinks, like Raphael painting apothecaries pots!—Come to make any ſtay with us, Sir? I hope you are.—You may command me, Sir.—You correſpond with your Couſin, no doubt.—Can I be inſtrumental in forwarding your diſpatches?—Command me, Sir, in that, or any other thing.—Shall be made quite happy, in having an opportunity

tunity to commence a correſpondence with that wonderful ſtateſman, by covering your remarks on this country to him.—Will a contract ſuit you, Sir?—We have a commiſſaryſhip now vacant.—Command me, Sir.—A cover at my table, Sir, always at your ſervice.—Always expect to ſee you, Sir.—Great man, your Couſin; very great man!—&c. &c."—But the honeſt mind of Mr. Haſtings, is above all ſuch dirty work. He took no more notice of the adventurer, William Burke, than of Major Baggs or William Mackintoſh; for which neglect, the orator has abuſed him as much, as either of the others, and with as little effect.

The laſt inſtance I ſhall produce of the Governor's creating himſelf enemies, is in the General of the Committee, the *Prince of ſpurious Nabobs.* When that mighty man commanded the Bengal army, it ſuited his purpoſe to repreſent Sujah ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, to the Governor and Council in Calcutta, to be ſo powerful and daring a Prince, as to induce them to continue a large third of the Bengal army in the Vizier's dominions; the payment of which, and the King's tribute, amounting to half a million ſterling annually, paſſed through the General's hands; very much to his private advantage, but to the ruin of Bengal, from whence the money was drawn, never to return. The impolitic and ruinous tendency of ſuch heavy drains of ſpecie, out of our own

provinces, Governor Haſtings ſaw, and ſoon after his coming to the government, put a ſtop to it; and at the ſame time diſcovered, that the General's bugbear, or rather cat's paw, the Vizier Nabob, Sujah ul Dowlah, was the moſt contemptible of all Royal poltroons. This inadvertent, and unintended ſatire, on the General's penetration, has embittered him againſt Mr. Haſtings; (a gentleman, by-the bye, whom General Smith has never ſeen.) To this circumſtance, and his being a friend of Mr. Sulivan, the Governor General owes the rank enmity of this man. To ſum up the whole, Mr. Haſtings has no other enemies, but a party in the Direction, who think their dignity ſlighted, becauſe he will know them only in their official, and not individual capacity; the great patriotic orator, *from the other ſide the water*, General Richard Smith, and the three great rambling adventurers, William Burke, William Mackintoſh, and Major Baggs. It would be difficult to find another enemy that Mr. Haſtings has, at home, or abroad, *worth notice:* for I own I believe that Mr. Farrer, and Mr. C. W. B. Rous, are more the friends of Mr. Francis, than the enemies of Mr. Haſtings. At the ſame time it is ſhocking to think, how two men, who, from their conſciences, knew better, could permit the diabolical inſinuations, relative to the trial and execution of Nundcomar, to paſs into the report of a certain Committee, without proteſting againſt them. Their ſo doing has, however, damned them

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them in my opinion; for ſuch treatment of an abſent and innocent man, is, in my judgement, worſe than murder. I know that they privately declare, that the orator drew them up, but that is no excuſe for their letting them paſs.

From the recapture of Calcutta in 1757, to the acceſſion of Governor Haſtings in 1772, there were but four Governors of Bengal, except Lord Clive, who were properly appointed by the Company. The reſtoration of Governor Drake, and the very ſhort reign of Mr. Holwell, having been purely accidental, I do not reckon them.

The four gentlemen were Governor Vanſittart, Governor Spencer, Governor Verelſt, and Governor Cartier, who jointly held the government eight or nine years. The two firſt are dead, and their families have been but too well convinced, by the very ſmall fortunes which they left, that acquiring money was a ſmall part of their ſtudy. The two latter are now alive, and I wiſh I could ſay, that their fortunes are greater than, from my knowledge of the diſintereſtedneſs of the men, I fear them to be. But the moſt ſingular part of the ſtory is this; they all fall under the deſcription of *reputed* Nabobs; and I boldly affirm, that the amount of the money remitted to this country, by the whole four on their own account, did not amount to a ſum equal to what General

neral Richard Smith accumulated and remitted by the Company's caſh, in the ſhort ſpace of three years, whilſt in command of the army. He therefore, on more accounts than one, muſt be content that I place him at the head of the *ſpurious Nabobs*. No wonder then, that the honourable gentleman reprobates all his old aſſociates and connections, and ſets himſelf up for a patriot of the firſt head. That he, and his right honourable friends, Meſſrs. Fox and Burke, compoſe a noble triumvirate, nobody will deny—A man muſt look back to a period juſt before the birth of Chriſt, to match them. However, I beg leave to give him a hint. His friend, Philip Francis, is a wiſe man, and I believe, a better economiſt than himſelf. He carried a rider on his back, when he went to India before; and having had a leaf out of Calcraft's book, did not ſpend his time idly whilſt he was there. General Clavering and Colonel Monſon wrangled, the firſt for the chair, and the ſecond for the command of the army. Philip held the balance, and milked the cow. The vanity of the man will carry him great lengths. The government of Bengal is worth three years purchaſe, to a man ſo well verſed in the ways and means of that country. Reynard is hungry; the grapes have long been ſour; and an early ſevere winter may ruin all again. Poor Paddy has lately loſt his maſter, and Paddy muſt eat. Mind what I ſay; coaleſce with Philip, and agree in time. The Lord Advocate's plan of Governor

and

and General both in one, romantic as it is, may prove a bar to your hopes. Do not hesitate. Down with the roleaus, Master Mite, down with the roleaus. Philip and you, by sharing the spoil, may afford a good purse. Mind what you are about: The great prize Bear, Hastings, is almost run down; do not let him escape, whilst you quarrel about the skin. These things are best managed in a thin House. Summer approaches, and Members fly off like Swallows. Mind what I say; toss the northern cur a sop.—Coalesce, coalesce, and persevere.—Country gentlemen are sick to loathing, at the eternal jingle of India affairs: rather than be teized with them through another sessions, they would pass a bill to declare Asia independent. This your friend, the great orator, knows. He owes every particle of his success in life, to long winded teizing. If you let the present opportunity slip, you are undone for ever. A dissolution may happen; think of that, Master Matthew, think of that. Never more shall you find the way to Asia through Leadenhall-Street; the leap must be made from St. Stephen's Chapel, or the game is up.

The above long-winded paragraph may sound like rant; but there is sometimes truth in joking. Never, sure, were people so misled by words, as the good folks of this nation. When shall we be wise? The Lord Advocate honestly confesses, that in forming his Asiatic Bill, he has taken no advice, and

and I conſcientiouſly believe him. Such great ſtateſmen as he, and the Right Honourable Mr. Burke, want no advice. Their ideas of legiſlation are perfect, and their bills will equally ſuit the wilds of Siberia, mountains of Africa, deſerts of Arabia, or fertile plains of Hindooſtan. Engliſh Acts of Parliament, are abſolutely the worſt manufacture the kingdom has to export: they are made up of ſuch diſcordant atoms, that they will not operate to any advantage, in any climate but that in which they are fabricated. My great hope is, that the number of cooks will ſpoil the broth, and that ultimately, we ſhall do nothing more in India affairs, than that of granting the Company immediate relief, by a vote of credit, and wait with patience, to ſee the effects of the Judicature Bill, the Ten Years Charter Bill, and of the late Peace.

I HAVE ſpent the better half of my life in Aſia, and know not how to expreſs my diſguſt, at the idea of forming Bills in an Engliſh Parliament, for the interior government of Hindooſtan. Let the Lord Advocate ſuppoſe Hyder Ally ſeated in his Durbar, forming a code of laws to govern England; and ſome part of the abſurdity will ſtrike him. Moſt certain I am, that the great warriors and ſtateſmen all over India, conſider Mr. Haſtings, next to Lord Clive, to be the greateſt man of our nation, that ever was amongſt them: And if their genius led them to execute political prints, I am confident they

they would repreſent him as a lion, with his teeth drawn, and claws pared to the quick: or perhaps as a man capable of every thing, but with his hands tied behind him.

THERE are two things which all the patriots and lawyers in England, would never be able to make the Aſiatics underſtand the meaning of. The firſt is what we mean by the expreſſion *Civil Liberty*: the ſecond is, how a government can be ſo conſtituted, that the firſt magiſtrate ſhall be accountable for meaſures which he does not direct. Ever ſince the year 1774, they have been conſtantly told, that Governor General Haſtings had done ſuch things, that he would moſt certainly be recalled by the expected ſhipping; and that extraordinary farce is kept up to this moment. Let Engliſhmen boaſt of the wiſdom of their rulers, if they pleaſe; but if ſuch another inſtance of want of real wiſdom, is to be found on the records of any nation in the world, than am I miſtaken.

THE Lord Advocate is a man of great reading, and much obſervation. I would aſk him whether in the interior parts of the Highlands of Scotland, there do not exiſt clan prejudices, and local habits, that bid defiance to all written law, and to preſerve which, the natives would riſk every thing, even life itſelf? If this is the caſe in our own Iſland, how much ſtronger muſt habits and prejudices

dices exiſt amongſt a people, who differ from us in every human idea of religious and civil legiſlation! There are thouſands of farmers living in villages in the provinces of Hindooſtan, ſituated on a ſmall ſpot of riſing ground, in the midſt of vaſt cultivated plains, whoſe predeceſſors have, from time immemorial, paid annually to their Zemindar, or perhaps to a banker, or money lender, in the village, 75 per cent. per annum, for money to buy utenſils and ſeed grain, with which to cultivate a ſmall diſtrict in the neighbourhood. I have known at leaſt a dozen inſtances, where Engliſhmen have conceived, that it would be the greateſt relief to thoſe poor diſtreſſed creatures, as they ſuppoſed them to be, to ſupply them with money at 24 per cent. per annum, and tried the experiment. What was the conſequence? Why they never could recover their capital; and were always obliged to give up their obligations to the Zemindar, or banker, for the principal only. His Lordſhip muſt know, as well as I do, that the Aſiatic farmers, are ſo far from being at rack rent, that their returns from the crops are in general ſo very ample, that was our Engliſh farmers to hold their farms on ſimilar terms, they would be enabled to buy the eſtate which, as farmers, they rented, every five years:

How would the Lord Advocate determine, if placed as a judge in an Aſiatic village, ſituated as mentioned above, when one of the firſt inhabitants of

of the place, ſhould apply to him for juſtice, becauſe a neighbour of his, of equal rank with himſelf, had neglected to invite him to his daughter's wedding? Would his Lordſhip direct the jury to find for the defendant, with coſts of ſuit? If he did, he would be a bad Aſiatic judge, though perhaps, he may be a good Engliſh one.

I KNOW nothing ſo prepoſterous, as the idea of framing laws in an Engliſh Houſe of Commons, for the interior government of Hindooſtan. It ſtrikes on my imagination on all ſides, with ſuch full blown abſurdity, that I cannot bear to think of it.

WHEN the Regulating Act paſſed in 1773, every man in this country had in his mind, that the famine at Bengal in 1770, had been cauſed by the avarice and monopolizing ſpirit of the Engliſh; to remedy which, the act ordained that no European ſhould buy rice in the provinces. In vain did Governor Verelſt, and other honeſt men, point out the abſurdity of the clauſe. In vain did they ſhew that Europeans were the only exporters of grain, and that every buſhel that was exported, brought two and ſixpence into the kingdom, and aſſiſted the farmers to pay their rents, and that for grain which was by no means wanted, or could otherways be made of uſe. I have myſelf, exported from Bengal in the courſe of one year, one hundred and fifty thouſand

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maunds of rice, and paid export duties on it to the Company, to the amount of 4000*l.* ſterling. But neither I, nor any other merchant, could export rice to advantage, when forced to purchaſe it at the Preſidency. Nor did we chooſe to ſubject ourſelves to informations for a breach of an act, merely becauſe it was ſignified from the higher powers on the ſpot, who ſaw and felt the abſurdity of ſuch clauſe, that no notice would be taken of ſuch breach. In the end, Governor Haſtings boldly and juſtly oppoſed the Act, in the caſe of the Judges interfering in the revenues, and aſked pardon for ſo doing. The rice clauſe is again inſerted in the new Bill, though every man in India, is convinced of its pernicious tendency.

If our patriots and lawyers, are ſo very fond of legiſlating for a country ſo diſtant as the Eaſt Indies, it will ſave themſelves, and their Governors abroad, much trouble, to ſend with their Acts, a general diſpenſing power. This idea does not go much beyond what the Lord Advocate himſelf conceives to be neceſſary, with reſpect to the powers requiſite to be given to his future Governor General. In that ſingle inſtance I agree with him intirely, provided that he can obtain from Heaven, a ſucceſſion of men, almoſt as good as angels, to act as Governors, ſo far from the ſeat of empire, ſurrounded by temptations ſo powerfully ſtrong. I believe Lord Cornwallis to be a character as near

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the mark as can be. But why a military Governor? Bengal is neither a mere rock, like Gibraltar, nor an iſland, like Jamaica, liable, at every motion of the enemy, to be put under military government. It is a vaſt mercantile empire, and as ſuch, a great acquiſition to Great Britain: but ſurely it will not require a Governor bred up in a camp, with ideas purely military, to manage it. A man whoſe creed is the articles of war, may do well enough to defend the frontier, or ſerve as a mere Governor of Madraſs; but God grant that Bengal may continue free from the dictates of ſo unnatural a monſter, as a military Governor.

THOUGH Mr. Burke does not like the Lord Advocate's bill, ſtill the right honourable gentleman continues to abuſe Governor Haſtings, and ſtill ſome few members attend to him. *He pledges himſelf* to God, the Houſe, and his Country, that he will prove Mr. Haſtings to be the greateſt of all delinquents; *and I aver*, that if the right honourable gentleman ſucceeds, in bringing about the recall of the Governor General, he *will never ſay more on the ſubject*. Is it poſſible that the Houſe and the world, can forget how often the right honourable gentleman has *pledged himſelf* to bring home facts againſt men in high ſtation, and how virulently he has abuſed them whilſt they were in office? and can they forget how he dropped his charges, and changed his language, the inſtant they were removed?

moved? Lord North is now his honourable friend; and Lord Rodney is again a hero.—If the Houſe of Commons will only paſs a bill to make Mr. Francis Governor of Bengal, General Richard Smith Commander in Chief, and Mr. William Burke a Bengal Counſellor, Governor Haſtings will not be *merely* good, but the *beſt of ſubjects.*

" *This clue once found, unravels all the reſt:*
" *The proſpect clears, and* EDMUND *ſtands confeſt.*

Profligate as the age is, and abandoned as ſome of our rulers are, yet I cannot think that they will be hardy enough to remove Mr. Haſtings on the plea of delinquency, without a ſpecific charge having been even alledged, and ſend out ſuch men as Mr. Francis and General Smith. The Court of Proprietors know theſe men, and their own intereſt, too well, to ſubmit to ſuch a ſhameleſs proſtitution of their property. And it is to be hoped, nay, it can only be doubted by the framers of this bill, that the Houſe of Commons will not ſuffer ſuch an affront to be put on their underſtanding, without a proper reſentment. In the choice of theſe two men to govern ſuch a kingdom as Bengal, there is ſo glaring a degree of venality, that it would be as abſurd to offer an argument in proof of it, as it would to prove a ſelf evident propoſition. Nothing can make it plainer than the characters of the men who are concerned in this profligate bargain.

I KNOW